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A pragmatist context-based assessment of the economic implications of eating patterns in a small sub-Saharan developing economy: Focus on Togo

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UNIVERSITY OF PLYMOUTH

A pragmatist context-based assessment of the economic implications of eating patterns in a small sub-Saharan developing economy: Focus on Togo

by

Corinne D. Tomta-Heinrich

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award without prior agreement of the Doctoral College Quality Sub-Committee.

Work submitted for this research degree at the University of Plymouth has not formed part of any other degree either at the University of Plymouth or at another establishment.

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Signed: Corinne Tomta-Heinrich

Date: 29.03.2020

DEDICATION

In memory of my mother.

To my daughter, my husband, my parents and siblings.

A pragmatist context-based assessment of the economic implications of eating patterns in a small sub-Saharan developing economy: Focus on Togo

Abstract

Healthy nutrition is recognized as essential to a productive workforce and strategic in preventing healthcare costs. Meanwhile, food supply system proficiency requires socially coherent organizational efficiency. Sub-Saharan Africa is widely presented in agro-food economics literature as a cultural block whereas it enfolds context-specific nations with specific biophysical and historical ties. This thesis aims to determine the importance of investigating country-specific diets' effects on economic welfare. Equally, it emphasizes national food system governance on which globalization, socio-economic and demographic transitions are increasingly influential.

Normative, critical and grounded in poststructuralism and cultural/relativist pragmatism, the thesis shifts focus from generic material challenges emphasized in economic reports to gaps in substance and framework of Sub-Saharan Africa food economy studies. Suggesting that policy failure largely owes to the lack of focus on the nurture side of policy-formulation equations, the nature of information and how information is sought are emphasized as paramount problematics. Consequently, an in-depth qualitative investigation on Togo is undertaken. It entails a cross-sectoral analysis of data from the public/private food and healthcare sectors and civil society.

Critical ethnography and alethic hermeneutics methodologies induced dialogue-provoking discussions with local respondents via surveys, semi-structured/structured interviews and observation through both social immersion and distance. The insider scrutiny aims to uncover valuable metadata possibly unobservable in nonspecific/quantitative studies. Informed by a multidisciplinary abductive reasoning, theoretical frameworks underscore concepts as value chain governance, new governance, global value chain, food anthropology- social psychology, demography and fertility linked to food supply concerns. Jointly, from a philosophical position, implications of individual liberty, societal values/norms on diet and economic productivity are also considered.

Such approach, targeting a holistic understanding of links between diet and economic status while shifting from generic to specific paradigms and from traditional empirical value system to ethicist/normative value system, has proven to be relevant. Results suggest that some patterns/trends in literature as dietary evolutions' links to demographic transition for instance are applicable. However particular historical and socio-political contexts trigger a spectrum of varied reactions. This applies to nutrition knowledge, perception regarding food types, agricultural work, collaboration, or state-civil society power relationship. Biophysical components also contribute in the span of historical and dietary constructs and social stratification of cultural groups.

Dismissing a non-normative governance theory, the thesis concludes that because nutrition status reflects governance model and power balance between civil society and food/healthcare stakeholders, policy must be integrative and considerate of the merits of traditional values within their biophysical and cultural context. In pursuit of efficient and sustainable model of governance, the thesis indicates windows of opportunity for further qualitative studies on food-related challenges at the state level in Sub-Saharan Africa as to highlight other concealed influential factors. This calls for perspectives closer to specific needs and motivations of local populations, major players in social transformation.

LIST OF CONTENTS

Abstract.....	iv
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. Review: Health nutrition, governance, demographic theories, system discourse and study area	8
Introduction.....	8
2.1 Health: The connecting link between diet and economy	10
2.1.1 Food supply challenges in the study area	13
2.1.2 Nutritional challenges in Togo: the problem of unbalanced diets	15
2.2 Governance: the provision-productivity social machinery.....	24
2.2.1 Evolutionary and social solidarity systems theories	24
2.2.2 New governance theory	27
2.2.3 Value chain governance theory and GVC	29
2.2.4 Government and governance: is society better off without government? Beyond origins toward pragmatist theories	33
2.2.4.1 Interventionist and anti-interventionist theories	35
2.2.4.2 Measuring aid dependency in interventionist governance	39
2.2.4.3 Knowledge and criticism in governance	41
2.2.5 Anthropology and social psychology of food: Demand-provision-productivity links	43
2.3 Demographic theories: The Supply-Population equation	47
2.3.1 Reviewing of the legitimacy of procreation as a threat to food security.....	49
2.3.2 The green revolution and population problem.....	57
2.3.3 Population size and welfare interplays	60
2.3.4 Fertility and demographic transition theories: family size and poverty.....	62
2.3.4.1 Family system theory: Angles of analysis of family	65
2.3.4.2 Managing procreation and food needs: Malthus and Mill	68
2.3.5 Trends in Sub-Saharan Africa and the weight of intent	71
2.4 Philosophical perspective: social system construct.....	73
2.4.1 Social contract: state functionalities	74
2.4.1.1 The Leviathan society	74
2.4.1.2 The political society.....	76
2.4.1.3 Utilitarian: State of nature vs state of need.....	78
2.4.2 Individual liberty and citizenship	82
2.4.3 Individual wellbeing, social welfare and justice	83
2.4.4 Liberty-Knowledge-critique -ethics relationships.....	85
2.4.4.1 Liberty	85
2.4.4.2 Knowledge	86

2.4.4.3	Criticism	88
2.4.4.4	Moral codes: justly enslaving or unequally ethical?	93
2.5	Study area review: general background information	96
2.5.1	Brief review of diet content	97
2.5.2	: Biophysical dimension and historical framework	99
2.5.2.1	Biophysical dimension in brief	102
2.5.2.2	The historical framework	102
2.5.3	Uncovering politico-ethnic discords: clash of cultures and social fragmentation	107
2.5.4	Corruptions' historic ties with politico-ethnic discords	108
2.5.5	Family and household patterns: size, configuration	110
2.5.6	Demographic framework	111
2.5.7	Age, gender, criticism, language and religiousness	113
2.5.7.1	Hierarchy of age	113
2.5.7.2	Hierarchy of gender	115
2.5.7.3	Criticism	119
2.5.7.4	Multilingualism and religious backdrops	120
2.5.8	Governance and rule of law	122
2.5.9	Government and political landscape	125
2.5.10	A statistical review of the economy: productivity	127
2.5.11	Labour: the distance between opportunity and incentive	132
2.5.12	Poverty	136
2.5.13	Regional disparities and spatial exclusion	137
2.5.14	Structural policy reforms: limits, challenges and successes	139
	Conclusion	145
Chapter 3.	Methodology	148
	Introduction	148
3.1	Research philosophy – phenomenology	148
3.1.1	Aspects of phenomenology considered	150
3.1.2	Research ontology: Truth and reality	151
3.1.3	Research epistemology: accessing Knowledge	154
3.2	Paradigm of inquiry – critical theory	156
3.2.1	Pragmatism	157
3.2.1.1	Pragmatist ontology	157
3.2.1.2	Pragmatist epistemology	159
3.2.2	Historical and relativist realism: Pragmatic rhetoric	160
3.2.3	Pragmatic rhetoric: facts and theory reconciled	161
3.3	Research methodology	163

3.3.1	Critical ethnography.....	164
3.3.2	Alethic Hermeneutics	165
3.3.3	Abductive reasoning	167
3.3.4	Rigour and reflexivity in the research process	169
3.4	Snapshot at the methodological framework.....	174
3.5	Data collection	175
3.5.1	Study organization:.....	175
3.5.2	Stakeholders	176
3.5.3	Summary of process onsite:.....	178
3.5.4	Methods of data collection	180
3.5.4.1	Interviews:.....	180
3.5.4.2	Observations.....	182
3.5.4.3	Surveys.....	182
3.6	Fieldwork, rigour and reflexivity	183
	Conclusion	186
Chapter 4.	Data analysis	188
	Introduction.....	188
4.1	Data- Results and summary.....	189
4.1.1	Food sector	189
4.1.1.1	State- The ministry of agriculture representative	189
4.1.1.2	Informal private business -Ready-to-eat meal vendors	194
4.1.1.3	Informal private business – Outdoor market produce vendor	200
4.1.1.4	Informal private business- Consumer goods and grocery roadside vendor 203	
4.1.1.5	Semi-formal private business–Convenience goods/grocery shop	208
4.1.1.6	Formal private - Frozen fish and poultry shops	210
4.1.2	Health sector.....	212
4.1.2.1	State - The Ministry of health representative.....	212
4.1.2.2	State – medical professionals and students	219
4.1.2.3	Formal private business - Pharmacists	235
4.1.2.4	Formal private business – health insurance companies	242
4.1.2.5	Informal private business - Spiritual healers/ herbalists	247
4.1.2.6	Informal private business- street medication sellers	253
4.1.3	Private Citizens: cross-cultural sample	256
4.1.3.1	List of questions:	257
4.1.3.2	Questionnaire answers from private citizens.....	258
4.1.3.3	Findings from civilians’ interview	267
4.2	Synthesis of findings.....	274

4.2.1	Morning food	274
4.2.2	Lunch in the largely urbanized south including the capital city Lomé.....	276
4.2.3	Lunch in rural and northern regions	279
4.2.4	Evening food	280
4.3	Analysis of findings	282
4.3.1	Micro-determinants of diet	282
4.3.1.1	Familiarity	282
4.3.1.2	Finance, feeling of satiety and taste	282
4.3.1.3	Satiety and taste precede nutritional functionalities	283
4.3.1.4	Accessibility and demand evolution.....	283
4.3.2	Macro-determinants of diet	284
4.3.2.1	Limited storage options (financial and material)	285
4.3.2.2	Regional disparities, spatial and historical exclusion.....	285
4.3.2.3	Occupation-age, gender and marital status exclusions.....	286
4.3.3	Demographic transitions' socio-economic effects on dietary evolution and health: 288	
4.3.3.1	The evolutionary trends.....	288
4.3.3.2	The new rich and a problem of perception	289
4.3.3.3	Proximity of the workplace to the house	289
4.3.3.4	Food quality.....	290
4.3.4	Summary of key issues	293
4.4	Research contribution:.....	298
4.4.1	Knowledge gains from methodological stand.....	299
4.4.1.1	Roles of age, socio professional/socioeconomic status, work and household locations, household configuration and gender	299
4.4.2	Contribution to knowledge, literature and generalizability	302
4.4.2.1	Ethnicity and diet	302
4.4.2.2	Food preferences: Generational, historical and regional links	303
4.4.3	Theoretical contribution	308
4.5	Research limitations	310
	Conclusion	310
Chapter 5.	Conceptual framework	315
	Introduction.....	315
5.1	Study background and motivation	316
5.2	The research objective	317
5.3	The research problematics.....	318
5.3.1	Why does this topic matter?	318
5.3.2	Knowledge gap: Limitations in existing studies	319
5.3.3	The methodological gap: the problem of generalization	323

5.3.4	The theoretical gap	326
5.4	Snapshots at the conceptual framework and research map	327
5.5	Measuring the relevance of meso-theories in the study area	329
5.5.1	Society as cultural entity: local applicability of food anthropology and social psychology	330
5.5.1.1	Food anthropology	330
5.5.1.2	Social psychology: A matter of perception	332
5.5.2	Governance: The value chain paradigm in Togo.....	335
5.5.3	Global value chain and Togo	336
5.5.4	Domain of applicability of interventionist theories in Togo	339
5.5.4.1	The Togolese laissez-faire	340
5.5.4.2	Downside of the Togolese laissez- faire	341
5.5.4.3	Ephemerality and unaccountability of aid	343
5.5.5	Population theory, family systems and fertility theory implications on social transformation	344
5.6	Measuring the relevance of philosophical readings	347
	Conclusion	351
Chapter 6.	Conclusion and recommendations	353
References	366
Appendixes and annexes	414
Appendix a-The road ahead Recommendations	414
Appendix b- Challenges.....		416
Annex a- The local lexicon.....		420
Annex b- Data collection tools.....		426

List of tables

Crop Calendar	97
Cereal production	98
Earnings by age and education attainment, female	118
Earnings by age and education attainment, male	118
Labor force status by education attainment and gender not in school, ages 15-29 (%) ..	118
Transition length in months, by education attainments and gender	118
Governance indicators	124
Election highlights 2013	126
Political stability and absence of violence/terrorism index.....	126
Doing Business status 2019.....	131
SDG efforts evolution 2010-2019.....	144

List of figures

Location of Togo in West Africa	96
Togo and country map	99
Map of administrative divisions and topography of Togo.....	100
German Togoland before attribution to Great Britain and France post WWI.....	104
Prevalence of FGM.....	116
Language and ethnicity maps	120
Methodological framework	174
Data collection framework.....	175
Civilian sample group characteristics	177
Data collection process summary	179
Panorama of the holistic model the research contributions	298
Research conceptual framework.....	327
Research map.....	328
Theory-based matrix of the relationship between key societal variables	329

List of graphs

Prevalence of anemia among women of reproductive age (15-49years) 2000-2016	15
Prevalence of undernourishment percentage (3years of age) 2000-2017	15
Average protein supply percentage (3years of age)	17
Average supply of animal origin (3years of age)	17
Average dietary energy supply adequacy percentage	17
Prevalence of obesity in the adult population (18 years and older)	20
Percentage of child malnutrition	20
Percentage of child malnutrition	20
Percentage of population using at least basic drinking water and sanitation services	23
Least developed countries' gross national income per capita	50
Population size per region in the world	51
Average annual growth rate of population in least developed countries and rest of the world	51
Population size 2020-2100 in Sub-Saharan Africa and Europe/Northern America	52
SDG region population growth and share of Sub-Saharan Africa	53
Number of births and deaths prospects 205-20100 in SSA and Europe-Northern America	54
The concentration and distribution of food insecurity by severity	59
Cereal imports	98
Political stability and absence of violence/terrorism index	126
Gross domestic product per capita, ppp, dissemination (constant 2011 international) .	127
Labor force status by education attainment, not in school ages 15-29 (%)	135
Labor force status by education attainment, socio-economic status not in school ages 15-29(%)	135
Transition length in months, by education attainment and socio-economic status	135
Percentage and evolution of rural and urban population	137

List of text boxes

SDG efforts in poverty reduction, gender inequalities, food security, health, infrastructure and environment	143
Data collected from the ministry of agriculture representative	189
Data collected from ready-to-eat-meal vendors (informal activity)	194

Data collected from outdoor market produce vendors (informal activity)	200
Data collected from consumer goods and grocery roadside vendor (informal activity) ..	203
Data collected from convenience goods and grocery shop (semi-formal activity)	208
Data collected from frozen fish and poultry shops (formal activity)	208
Data collected from the ministry of health representative	212
Data collected from medical professionals and students	219
Data collected from pharmacists	235
Data collected from health insurance companies	242
Data collected from spiritual healers/herbalists (informal activity)	247
Data collected from street medication sellers (informal and illicit activity)	253
Questionnaire aimed at private citizens	257
Questionnaire answers from private citizens	258
Lomé's attractiveness and dietary profile in brief	276

CURRENCY EQUIVALENTS

(October 2018) Currency Unit	=	CFAF (XOF)
1 Unit of account	=	XOF 790.62
1 Unit of account	=	USD 1.40
1 Unit of account	=	EUR 1.21

FISCAL YEAR

1 January – 31 December

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

1 metric ton (mt) = 2,204 pounds
1 kilogram (kg) = 2.204 pounds
1 meter (m) = 3.28 feet
1 millimeter (mm) = 0.03937 inch
1 kilometer (km) = 0.62 mile
1 hectare (ha) = 2.471 acres
Source: AFDB (2019)

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFD	French Development Agency
AFP	Agence France Press
AI	Amnesty International
CFA	African Financial Community
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
DES	Dietary Energy Supply
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECT	Economy of Cost Transaction
FAO	Food and Agriculture organization of the United Nations
FDI	Foreign direct investment
FGM	Female Genital mutilation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIEWS	Global Information and Early Warning System on food and agriculture
GVC	Global value chain
IBPUSA	International business publications USA
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IMF	International Monetary Funds
INSEED	National Institute for Statistics and Economic and Demographic Studies
LDC	Least Developed Country
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MEF	Ministry of the Economy, Finance and Development Planning
NCD	Non Communicable Disease
NGO	Non-Government institution
ODA	Official Development Assistance
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PFI	Prevalence of Food Inadequacy
QUIBB	Basic Wellbeing Indicators Questionnaire
R&D	Research & Development
SCAPE	Strategy for Boosting Growth and Promoting Employment
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNIR	Union for the Republic
UN-OHRLLS	UN Office of the High Representative for the Least developed countries, Landlocked developing countries and Small islands developing states
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USDL	United States Department of Labor
USDS	US department of State
USGPO	US Government Publishing Office
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WB	The World Bank
WFP	World Food Programme of the United Nations
WHO	World Health Organization of the United Nations
WTO	World Trade Organization

Chapter 1. Introduction

People will always be hungry. One can safely cut into various expenses, not so into nutrition-related ones. In the field of food studies, food supply, in connection with population growth and arable land pressures on resources, is a concern which economists, philosophers, and policymakers are increasingly becoming interested in. SSA (Sub-Saharan Africa) is a critical geographical area and a region that is ripe for analysis in terms of assessing such matters. The present research topic does not only matter because it poses the problem of survival in a resource-constrained world. It goes beyond by questioning what can be efficiently done with such awareness to contribute to supply sustainability. This starts with how food issues are framed and addressed. Indeed, food challenges in SSA are often painted in a generic light. Quantified performance indicators and reports developed by international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund or United Nations institute the central route to broad data. Indices from international reports derive from larger sample of countries but lack country-specific and in-depth diagnostics (Kaufmann, Kraay and Zoido-Lobaton, 2003, 1999). Researchers must then navigate their way through massive indices and indicators. Little is known about the country-specific frameworks, unobserved data and dynamics of certain economies judged 'marginal' in the SSA agro-food literature. Togo is an example in spite of being determinant in the region as a key commercial hub for its neighbors, especially landlocked Saharan countries. One outcome of non-specific approaches is a regulated reality which becomes the norm in academia. Another outcome is that research practices focused on the global Sub-Saharan region often are saturated with opaque charts and numbers left to positivist deductions. The problem is that information made available for the mainstream academic societies can be flawed, incomplete, or ambiguous.

Hence, prior to any reflection on a future productive food economy, accurate insights into the current structure of food systems are necessary in both substance and form. The source of the success or failure of policies/recommendations matters. It is an incentive toward a game changing arena that focuses on country-specific perspectives.

Through a case study of the republic of Togo, a small West African economy, specific dietary links to the economic growth and governance are assessed from a local scenario. As such, the thesis attempts to answer the question: How and to which extents do food consumption patterns influence the economy? The main goals are to:

- 1) Identify linkages between country-specific eating patterns and economic welfare by considering governance on the grounds of food production/productivity, food security and nutritional safety in connection with social phenomena including but not limited to population growth, demographic transition, or decrease in agricultural workers.
- 2) Inform future research and policy decision on the importance of country-specific qualitative inquiry in food-related challenges especially in SSA.

Exploring food-related documentations¹ on Togo, the one-pillar paradigm lacking the intrinsic knowledge to understanding the mechanisms and dynamics of the food system arises as essential to accentuate. Hence, methodological gaps in literature on Togo are also highlighted. As a Sub-Saharan LDC² Togo is underappreciated in the Sub-Saharan food sustainability literature. Few studies have tried to specifically review the impacts of historical, cultural and socio-demographic determinants on the Togolese food system. Seemingly, food literature on Togo largely focuses on two leading matrices.

The first consists of economic and policy-oriented assessments consisting in a positivist spectrum. It emphasizes quantifiable data, productivity problems and their consequences,

¹ International public/ organizations, institutions, banks UN (United Nations) data and economic reports, etc.

² Togo is among the 33 Sub-Saharan countries designated as LDCs (least developed countries) (UNDESA, 2019; UN-OHRLLS, 2019)

however restricting the analysis scope to empirical scrutiny. Few or no consideration of local ideologies and symbolic meanings are made. These assessments' derived recommendations however become fully valuable only when understood, consented and accordingly/effectively applied by the key social actors. Statistics as fertility rates or GDP are mere macro empirical inventories. By themselves they do not inform neither explicitly nor implicitly the social dynamics at their roots³.

The second research matrix in literature comes as complementary to the first and involves extending conclusions extrapolated from studying economically, strategically, or geographically 'larger' economies to 'smaller' ones as Togo within the SSA geographic zone. As qualitative investigation at the national level can be time and resource intensive, achieving country-specific in-depth diagnostics is challenging indeed. Nevertheless, such process often leads to misinformation or misconceptions in knowledge related to food challenges at the national/local level.

Given the scientific consensus that diet affects physical and mental health, a country-specific value-based approach to dietary patterns is relevant. To reach a better understanding of social discourse, the study attempts to balance both post-modernist and poststructuralist approaches. More precisely, a greater degree of attention is paid to consumers as active participants in production patterns while emphasizing consumption or food demand as a result of the system. As such there is an indivisible dualism between production and consumption and between organizational identities and eating behaviors. The thesis's call for a game changing paradigm is meant to stimulate and/or develop interest in challenging empirical data and generic narratives in further research. As such, it draws attention on how these can improperly shape opinions, psychologies, and policies.

³ Keynes (2010 [1945]:18) once commented: "the day is not far off when the economic problem will take the back seat where it belongs, and the arena of the heart and the head will be occupied or reoccupied, by our real problems/ the problems of life and of human relations, of creation and behavior and religion". Ban Ki-moon (2012) also said: "We need to move beyond gross domestic product as our main measure of progress, and fashion a sustainable development index that puts people first". For Kuznets (1934), creator of GDP and Nobel Prize winner, "the welfare of a nation can scarcely be inferred from a measurement of national income".

In this thesis culture is perceived as a force⁴. Indeed, language alone is saturated with memory, history, and beliefs that guide action while history indicates how demographic population are socialized. Linking language to social interactions from a philosophical standpoint and between a postmodernist and cultural relativist pragmatism, Habermas (ibid.297) argues that even ethics derive from “the structure of linguistic communication”. Historical consciousness cements populations together as one nation and serves them in asserting their identities in the geographical world.

Scientific rigor remains nevertheless important for the validation of cultural parameters as determinant. However African oral traditions, for instance, does not loose legitimacy on the ground of a lack of chronological framework. On the contrary, as it will be demonstrated, these traditions are so powerful that no thorough social transformation seems possible without them. As key tools for change, they are inevitable. This implicates questions of cultural identity preservation, governance, individual liberty, wealth culture, family or household dynamics/size in relation fertility-food supply problematics and resource distribution.

Fundamentally, one key motive of the study was to determine, based on context, the specific nature of food demand and level of productivity, how power relations between consumer and producer agency influence the food system and economic status particularly through nutrition-related health costs. A subsequent motivation was to measure the value of a qualitative country-specific approach in food-related challenges.

The latter arises from the former when it appeared essential to emphasize particularity/diversity in the thinking process: When it comes to basic/common biophysical needs as nutrition is culture really relevant? Are some societies more inclined than others to a successful agricultural revolution and prosperous food economy? To which extents does

⁴ Habermas’s cultural relativism concedes contextual meaning and the intersubjective comprehension of the universal basic rights of citizens to practice their political rights⁴. Contextual meaning rationalize social justice by relating historical and cultural duties to universal physiological needs. Norms/codes, to a large extent meet certain social needs. Some codes with metaphysical origins remain upheld as vital although they seemingly are no longer relevant. For Habermas (1998 [1996]), values and ideals are inseparable from the cultural traditions and historical experiences that shape the identities of groups.

the specific local diet influence and is the outcome of the model of food system? Consequently, the problematics addressed are twofold 1) in substance: Nutritional challenges and their specific economic implications in the study area 2) in form: knowledge, methodological and theoretical gaps in literature. As it is hardly possible to separate culture from governance and economic development in SSA, the thesis attempts to contribute to filling these gaps. The objective to initiate a gradual metamorphosis in literature toward a more poststructuralist approach that can contribute to efficiently serving academic research and assist policy formulation.

Specific focus or micro-level scrutiny in SSA matters because it can contribute in a wealth of exhaustive problem-solving variables (historical, traditional, political, etc.). The process itself contributes in reassessing how we look at information, how information is coded and what it can teach us depending on how we look at it. This is primordial if research starts with the information that is available. There is a need to challenge knowledge which suggests generalizations on the ground of sameness/commonality and permeates the mind against deeper perspectives.

Conventional knowledge (namely a narrow view of SSA and countries it encompasses) has provided ephemeral cures or helped symptoms temporarily but has hardly brought healing in a way that society fully and sustainably recovers. As such, not until the source of problems are found can they fully be fixed in a foreseeable future and further. For the academic world to continue embracing the empirical and generic narrative without questioning may maintain society-specific ills.

In that line of thought, the literature review navigated around five axes:

1. Health as the link between nutrition and economic welfare.
2. Governance system theory through emphasis on resource provision models, productivity mechanisms and dynamics, level of innovation and technology as reflection

of individual liberty, and status of the equilibrium of postcolonial and pre-colonial philosophies regarding resource and system sustainability.

3. Population size's role in food challenges stimulated demographic and family systems theories which relate to family size norms, demographic transition and fertility theories. The limits of policy reforms as the green revolution are also reviewed.
4. Comprehensive review of the research area's general cultural and biophysical background information.
5. Philosophical frameworks to serve analysis of the social system architecture.

Separately and jointly considered are dietary and economic impacts of production and consumption patterns, as well as implications of governance, and demand shifts from population growth and socio-economic transition. The reason is that patterns of production, policy, and social discourse dictate patterns of availability, accessibility/distribution, price and consumption whose connection with the economy is health status. As production has had more attention in the agro-food literature in West Africa than consumption, an attempt is made to better emphasize the determining role of food demand patterns in the food supply system and general economy.

In closing, the costs of nutrition-related challenges are massive in terms of health, lost productivity and national development. In fact, the economic losses associated with health care are even more destructive in low-income countries. In order to reach practical, efficient and sustainable cures to nutritional challenges, it becomes increasingly necessary to balance the scale between social discourse and academic conclusions. The socio-cultural aspects of diet and its impacts on the health of populations are considered here as a most valuable assets of any economy. Economic development is linked with citizens' well-being, relationship with innovation, and capability to create and cultivate wealth through critical thinking, innovation, research and development, all determined by the social

environment. Accordingly, through normative lenses, the thesis explores a food system whose literature coverage is excessively narrowed to a monolithic empirical trajectory. Balancing and reconciling qualitative and quantitative approaches have implications for the quality of knowledge presented to the academic society in order to further inquiries and problem identification, as well as for the development of pertinent policy for a specific African context as Togo.

The research is organized as follows: The first chapter is the introduction of the thesis. The second chapter introduces the literature review which highlights dietary linkages to health costs, governance of food productivity and supply challenges, as well as the grey literature and philosophical perspective. Chapter three highlights the research methodology which covers the research philosophy, paradigm of inquiry, methodological approaches, data collection process and field work synthesis. Chapter four presents the data analysis segmented in results, findings, findings synthesis, data analysis, research contributions and limitations. In chapter five the conceptual framework clarifies the research motives and reasoning system that links research chapters, sub-sections, concepts and data. Chapter six sets out the conclusion and recommendations of the thesis.

Chapter 2. Review: Health nutrition, governance, demographic theories, system discourse and study area

Introduction

“No matter how it is defined, nutrition starts with what we eat; the products of the food and agriculture sector. Through working on our food systems, on the way we produce, collect, store, transport, transform and distribute foods, we can improve our diets, our health and our impact on natural resources.”
(FAO, 2018)

Food systems are a major concern in welfare. They are a central feature of Togo’s cultural traditions. In fact, the majority of the Togolese population depends on subsistence agriculture carried out by small and medium size farms ranging in size from one to three hectares (IBPUSA, 2017:32). Subsistence and commercial agriculture employs 34.5% of the labor force which represent 76% of the total population (> age 15) (UNDP, 2019). Subsistence farmers are particularly vulnerable to climatic shocks and food crisis as most of their food is supplied by their small farms. Farmers represent 72.6% of the 55.1% of the population living below the poverty line (AFDB, 2019).

The connection between the sections of this chapter is simple. Health is primary focus as the critical link between diet and individual wellbeing and by association, national economic welfare. From the premises that diet impacts health and its associated costs, how dietary contents are determined, produced, and distributed are of a great interest. This leads to a second section on governance in terms of supply value chain (buyer-driven/producer-driven). Some famous reasons used in economic reports to explain the low agricultural productivity in SSA are: the obsolete/excessive farming practices degrading soil fertility⁵, poor cropping systems, lack of technological knowledge, low level of

⁵ “Local cereal production (mainly millet, sorghum, maize and upland rice) remains unstable because these crops are highly vulnerable to natural calamities. Furthermore, the risk of environmental degradation and productivity decreases is becoming higher than ever in the Sahelian zone” Lopriore and Muehlhoff (2003).

investment in agriculture, ill-suited education system, inadequate infrastructures/policies and almost systematically weak governance. The governance section therefore explores notions as solidarity systems, supply value chain, food anthropology and social psychology, assistance in governance, power levels of knowledge and criticism in governance. Reportedly, the past steady tropical weather of Togo contributed to an overreliance on the climate for agricultural productivity alongside other ideological stands related to fate and the divine⁶. Why daily survival prevails over sustainability and wealth cultivation principles not only at the rural/traditional levels, but also at the western-based institutional levels also shape governance trends. Social psychology, key aspect of culture with systemic implications will also inform the understanding of consumption-production relations in governance from local perspectives. Governance necessarily involves distribution matters tied to the ‘population size problem’. Consequently, fertility as well as family/household size theories are addressed in section three. The section also emphasized the relevance of reforms as the green revolution which purpose was also to serve as a response to supply issues. The fourth section sets the context of the study area and provides literature insights matched with theoretical interpretations. The philosophical perspective of social system in section five provides the poststructuralist lenses needed to contribute to understanding symbolic representation, meaning and interactions. Knowledge of modern agricultural methods for instance are also discussed as valuable and productive through concepts as individual liberty and, criticism. Overall, the literature review navigated around five axes: 1) relationships of dietary patterns and economic welfare, 2) governance, 3) population related theories, 4) study area, and 5) the philosophical perspectives on social discourse.

⁶ When things are going wrong, most Togolese rely on family, and a belief in destiny/deities for a brighter future (Culturegrams, 2014). Elders, are custodians of traditions and strive to pass on traditions to future generations.

2.1 Health: The connecting link between diet and economy

The emphasis on the nutritious aspect of food malnutrition and undernutrition⁷ is not accidental⁸. Food is a biological imperative. If prevention is the pillar of survival because healthcare costs are unaffordable, nutritional quality is a categorical imperative. To survive and thrive by creating value, the workforce must be mentally and physically fit. An unbalanced diet makes the body more vulnerable to illnesses often resulting in colossal health expenses particularly in the case of chronic diseases. Illness also impinges upon economic efficiency in the labour force. The economy reflects the capacity of citizens to profitably exploit national resources. Optimum nutrition contributes to health, wellbeing, normal development, and high quality of life, whereas under-nutrition, over-nutrition, and malnutrition are linked to suboptimal health outcomes because nutrients, through the metabolic processes of food in the digestive system are absorbed at a cellular level in the body (Gibney et al. 2009). As Jacka and Berk (2007:322) stated: “Given the substantial direct and indirect action of various nutritional compounds on gene expression, immune function, the endocrine system, biochemistry and ageing, it is therefore appropriate and important to recognize that diet must be considered as another environmental factor with the potential to influence the course and outcome of many psychiatric illnesses”.

Nutritionists have, for many years made clear how the nutritive qualities or values of food influence economic development (Khan et al., 2018). Concerning children, future social actors, nutrition specialists advance that there is only a 1,000 day window between pre-birth and age 2 to change the course of a child’s health. Missing that opportunity means

⁷ A person is considered malnourished if their diet does not provide adequate calories and protein for growth and maintenance. They are considered to be undernourished when unable to fully utilize the food they eat due to illness for example (UNICEF, 2015).

⁸ In 2011, the Cannes G20 summit was urged to “put food first”. The overarching goal was to ensure that the most vulnerable people and countries are no longer denied access to nutritious food because “about 3.5 million children under 5 in developing countries die from undernutrition each year and those who survive are unlikely to achieve their full potential if their food lacks adequate nutrients” (WB,2015 [2011]).

missing an entire generation because the damage that occurs in the early months is irreversible (WB, 2015 [2011]). “Growth velocity up to the age of about 2 years is especially high, and it is also during this period that the brain reaches almost 90% of adult size...It will often be possible to reverse moderate wasting within 2 to 4 weeks, whereas reversing moderate stunting may take months or years, if it is possible at all” (Michaelsen et al., 2009:s344). IFPRI (2016) also reported: “Good nutrition in the earliest stages of life directly influences children’s future nutrition and development as they grow into healthy adults. Research has contributed to a set of guiding principles on the best infant and young child complementary feeding (IYCF) practices to promote healthy child growth, development, and nutrition.” Poor nutrition’s cost to the economy is colossal because it affects national productivity and growth by increasing the likelihood of child death, impaired physical and intellectual/cognitive development, reduced immunity, susceptibility to disease, vulnerability to parasitic infestation. The later diverts nutrients from the body and causes blood loss and anemia, poor working capacity as well as an increased risk of adult disease (Michaelsen et al., 2019; WB, 2011; WHO, 2016). This inevitably weakens national development⁹ due to the increased burden on the health care system and the direct/indirect costs of lost productivity. Studies on the Prevalence of Food Inadequacy (PFI) and the Dietary Energy Supply (DES) statically and demonstrated that nutrition has important effects on economic growth (Arcand, 2001; Arora, 2001; Wang and Taniguchi, 2003, FAO, 1996). More precisely, inadequate nutrition causes losses of between 0.23 to 4.7% in the annual growth rates of per capita GDP worldwide, and losses of 0.16 to 4% in SSA. The relationship between PFI and, DES, the FAO (ibid.) stated,

⁹ Based on the endogenous growth model of Lucas (1988), Zon and Muyken (2002) observed that since the steady state growth rate rose linearly in the average health-level of the population, the productivity of the health sector was as an important determinant of growth as the productivity of the human capital accumulation process itself. Sachs (2001) emphasized the importance of nutrition for economic development in developing countries: “First of all, better nutrition, which would lead to better health, is by itself a key indicator of a country's welfare. Second, healthier labor force is more productive, in both physical production and human capital production. Hence, better nutrition serves as a capacity building for human capital. This is a main driving force for improvement in standard of living.”

“depends on how the energy intake is distributed across the population, as well as on the aid distribution system.” Thus, to make aggregate associations between indicators of health, nutrition and development, more informative data must be gathered and analyzed from a causality standpoint, (Alderman, Behrman and Hoddinott in Dutt and Ros, 2008). Horton et al. (2010) emphasized that addressing undernutrition is cost effective because the costs associated with core micronutrient interventions are as low as US\$0.05–3.60 per person annually. And the subsequent returns on investment are as high as 8–30 times the cost. Childhood anemia alone is associated with a 2.5% drop in adult wages (Horton and Ross, 2003). According to the WHO, Economic losses in developing countries with the highest burden of maternal and early childhood undernutrition amount to between 2 and 3% of gross domestic product. As energy intake and the quality of the diet have been found to be predictive of economic success, population-based inquiry has practical importance in measuring how health influence economic prosperity (Thomas and Frankenberg, 2002). Therefore, while modelling an efficient response based on a socio-political environment is appropriate, many organisms often remind of the varied socio-economic implications of food security and nutrition. That is, if biophysical factors are considered universal, intangibles that distinguish societies become the main variables that can pilot the success/failure of policy even though they are hard to measure¹⁰.

¹⁰ In the economic development literature much has been said about the causality between health and labor productivity. Primarily it was made clear in literatures that income clearly affects demand for health (Strauss & Thomas, 1998: 766-817). The causal impact of health over productivity was still questioned (Rosenzweig, 1988 in Strauss and Thomas, *ibid.*) because there was little reliable evidence to support it. On the causal impact of economic development of health Strauss and Thomas (*ibid.*) report that: “a small number of studies suggest that health has a larger return at a very low level of health and (perhaps) in jobs requiring more strength. With economic development these types of jobs will shrink, and one might expect the labor market impact of improved health to decline, especially relative to the impact of education and skill acquisition.” Now not only can that view be judicious because “health and income clearly affect each other and are re related to many factors that are hard to measure” (*ibid.*)

2.1.1 Food supply challenges in the study area

In 2006-2007, floods drowned many of the crops in Togo, and the price of maize, the staple cereal increased by 42% in a year (WB, 2011). People ate seeds and sold their livestock to survive as the poorest live in farming communities. 50.000 children under the age of 5 were malnourished/ undernourished. These climatic shocks exacerbated malnutrition among rural populations where it was already serious due to demographic pressure and a collapse in yields of cotton, a major cash crop in Togo (ibid.).

Between 2013 and 2014, a serious drought in the north caused soil degradation, biodiversity loss, reduced agricultural yields/ livestock and agricultural revenues, increased rural to urban migration, food insecurity and famine in some cases (FAO, 2015). Projected climate scenarios revealed that Togo is located in an area that will experience sharp decreases in rainfall and a rise in temperature with anticipated adverse impacts on agricultural productivity and the well-being of rural populations (IFPRI, 2013). Thus, Togo's agricultural sector and the country's economic development are particularly susceptible to the effects of climate change.

The future can be unpredictable but the impacts of unpredictable events¹¹ can be limited through forward-thoughtfulness and strategy. Such reasoning however starts with a specific mindset/philosophy. Indeed, agriculture, the country's main economic lifeblood¹² can no longer rely principally on climatic regularities given the recent unprecedented climatic shocks (drought, floods, etc.). Equally, excessive farming practices can no longer hold as they deplete the soil, shrinking fertility in arable lands. Because food is a biological imperative, sustainable solutions are now urgent. Furthermore, water and land resources

¹¹ "The future is always unpredictable...we may, in order to have continuity of direction, plan a program of action in anticipation of occasions as they emerge" (Dewey, 1993[1927]:87).

¹² Some 35% of Togo's labor force is involved in agriculture (40% of GDP) (World Bank, 2018). The economy depends of commercial and subsistence agriculture, though some basic foodstuffs must still be imported (CIA, 2017). In 2017 food imports represented 17.7% of all imports (WB, 2019). "Farmers represent 72.6% of the population living below the poverty line. Agriculture, which is a crucial sector of the national economy (47.6% of GDP in 2015), is not productive and mechanized. Togo has only 22 major agribusiness companies, which cover less than 5% of the local agribusiness market, while the rest is covered by imports. The country's trade balance for agricultural and agro-industry products is still in deficit. In 2014, Togo imported food products for approximately USD 160 million, as against exports of USD 50 million." (AFDB, 2019)

are reported to become increasingly constrained and advances in agricultural productivity not as easy to achieve as they were during the “green revolution” of the 1960s and 1970s (WB, 2015[2011]). World Bank President Zoellick (ibid.) affirmed that food security had to be improved by helping small-hold farmers. After the food crisis of 2008 Togo, as often, received aid¹³ but the economy remained unsustainable.

Provided that material aid alone is unreliable and ephemeral¹⁴, to sustainably ensure supply for the human capital, fuel of the economy, sustainable actions have become vital for survival¹⁵ of the society altogether. A study revealed that population growth, low and stagnating agricultural productivity, policy distortions, weak institutions and poor infrastructure explain Africa’s dependency on imports (Rakotoarisoa et al., FAO 2012[2011]). Based on typology, demand, import and supply, the study found that some technical constraints arise out of distorted policies and weak institutional support.

As such, ideological and structural antagonisms between traditional and contemporary postcolonial governance at the individual, corporate and institutional levels come to light.

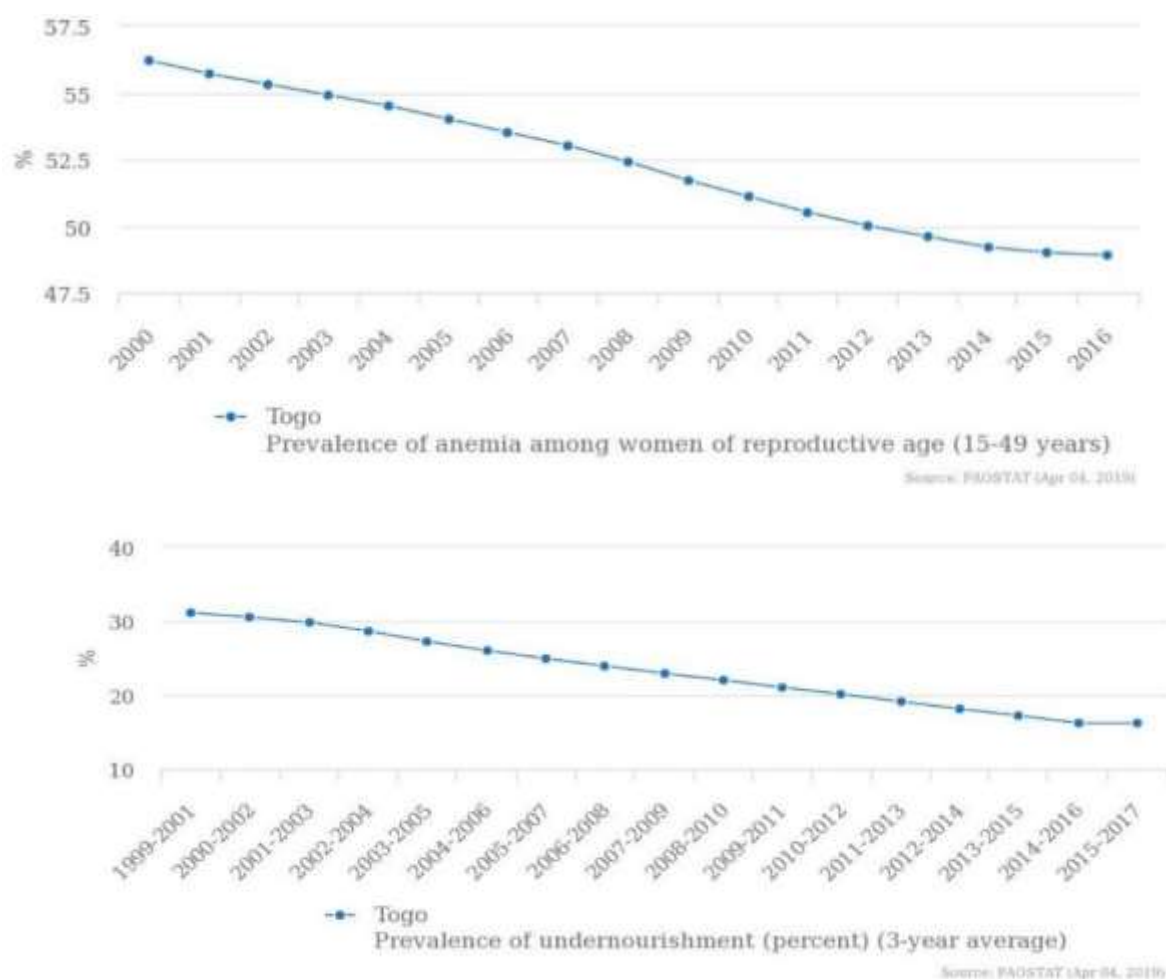
¹³ Out of eight candidate countries worldwide, Togo is one of three African countries that has received the most aid from the GAFSP fund (Global Agriculture and Food Security program (ActionAid USA, 2019) created in 2010 to boost crop yields and incomes in developing countries where 75% of poor people live. The aim was to reduce risk from income and weather shocks. World commodity prices were rising rapidly at this time, and populations could not afford to meet their basic dietary needs.

¹⁴ Africa, which many consider will experience a green revolution saw agricultural spending fall to 3%-4% of the national budget before the 2008 crisis. International aid for agricultural development also fell to about the same amount (WB, 2011).

¹⁵ Even though Darwin’s thoughts drew from Lyell, they diverge ontologically. Darwin believed in the adaptability of species whereas Lyell believed that species had a fixed nature. In either case, adaptability to the world of globalization, population growth and socio-demographic transition is now necessary through adaptability to it, adaptability to scarcity which in the case of basic needs as food is currently unrealistic unless a populace is intellectually and physically fit to impose its own order to the world. Lyell (1833[1830]:58) stated: “In the universal struggle for existence, the right of the strongest eventually prevails; and the strength and durability of a race depends mainly on its prolificness, in which hybrids are acknowledged to be deficient.” That is population growth is as imperative as food in the struggle for survival. The term “strength” however can also involve “quality” as when Aristotle (1982: book vii 2104) distinguishes quantitative and qualitative populations (see food anthropology section in Chapter1).

2.1.2 Nutritional challenges in Togo: the problem of unbalanced diets

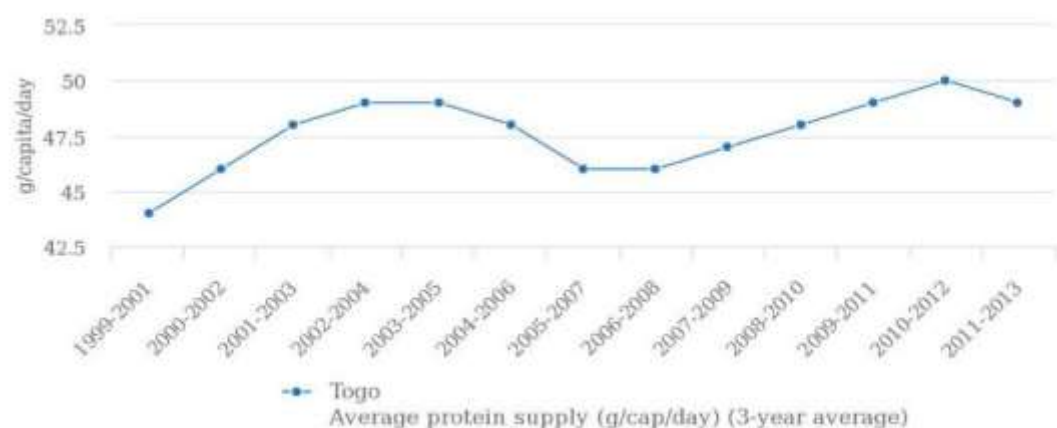
In Togo, 48.9% of women aged 15-49 years are anemic; an alarming number provided that 65.4% of infants aged between 0-5 months (exclusively breastfed) rely almost entirely on their mothers to be well-nourished and healthy (SUN, 2019). Some 11% of all children were born weighing less than 2,500 grams at the time of this research. Based on the WHO Child Growth Standards, 23.8% of children between 0-59 months suffered stunting (ibid.). A further 5.7% were malnourished and 1.5 % were obese. Undernourished children can no longer maintain natural bodily capacities such as growth, infection resistance, the ability to recover from disease, the ability to learn and the ability to take part in physical work. Undernourishment also affects pregnancy and lactation in women (UNICEF, 2015). Poor feeding of infants, especially that which results from suboptimal breastfeeding and responsive complementary feeding is a major cause of under-nutrition (ibid.).



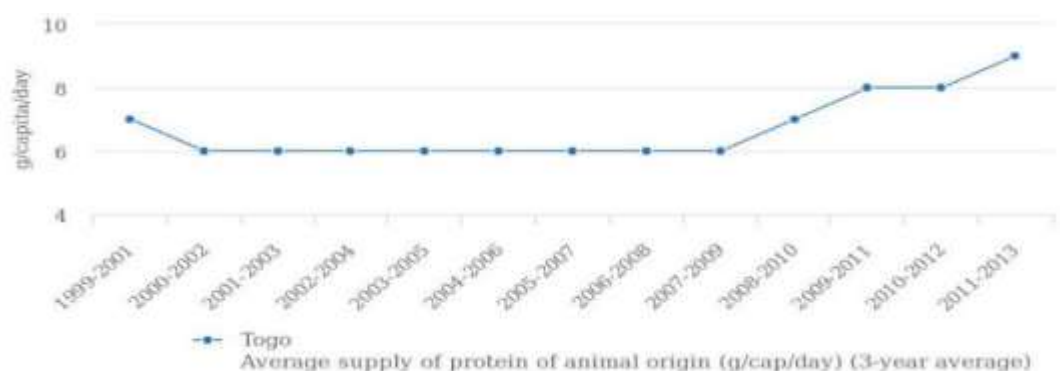
Poor feeding practices, the insufficiency of quantities and inadequate quality of complementary foods and their untimely introduction in diet (either too early as before 4 months in Benin and Togo or too late after 12-13months) play a key role in child malnutrition in West Africa (Dop and Benbouzid, 1999, 2003; Arabi et al., 2012, Issaka et al., 2016, 2015; Mitchodigni, 2018; Briaux et al., 2019; White et al., 2017). About the 86% food aid provided to SSA was in the form of cereal products between 1993 and 2007 (WFP, 2011) but it was argued that in the region, food issues could not exclusively be focused on grains and cereals, which comprise less than half of agricultural consumption (AFD, 2015). Also, even though cereal products are rich in energy, they are criticized for not being able to meet the nutritional requirements of vulnerable groups (Kuhlgatz and Abdulai, 2012). This was supported by an investigation of cereal food aid which revealed that cereal data analyses are unable to capture nutrient aid responses. The thin, cereal-based porridges and bulky staple foods commonly fed to children are nutritionally inadequate because they are not energy/nutrient-dense¹⁶ and at high risk of microbial contamination (Balaka et al., 2009; Michaelsen et al, 2009:s344). Indeed, Togo's staple food crops include corn (main), cassava (second), then millet and sorghum, yams and rice (FAO, 2019).

The high prevalence of protein inadequacy in the coastal countries such as Togo likely relates to the role of root crops in the southern diets and their relative absence in those of the north (Hofonga and van den Boom,2003); Lopriore, 2003). The diminishing role of pulses and animal products – two valuable sources of protein and micronutrients – suggests that the quality of diets in the region has decreased and this is attributed to both insufficient supplies and an uneven distribution of different groups of foods (ibid.).

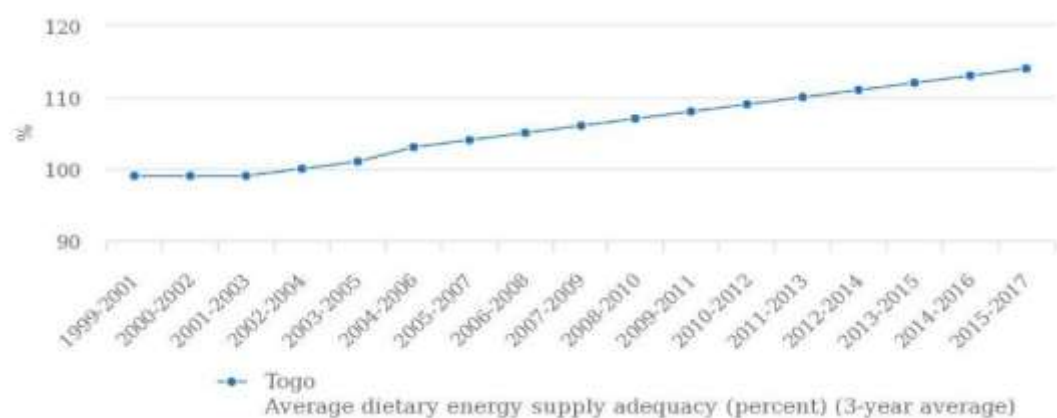
¹⁶ “The typical diet in populations with a high prevalence of malnutrition consists predominantly of a starch-rich staple, such as a cereal (maize, rice) or tuber (cassava), with limited amounts of fruits, vegetables, legumes, and pulses, and little or no animal-source food. Such a diet is bulky, has a low density of energy and nutrients and a low bioavailability of minerals, and will result in impaired growth, development, and host defense to infections. In addition, introduction of such a diet too early or contamination of the diet will lead to frequent infections, which will further impair nutritional status and, hence, increase the risk of infectious diseases. Young children are also likely to be more sensitive to the effect of anti-nutrients... which impairs the absorption of several growth-limiting minerals, such as zinc. Infants and young children are especially vulnerable to malnutrition because they have a high growth velocity and also high energy and nutrient needs.”



Source: FAOSTAT (April, 2018)



Source: FAOSTAT (April, 2018)



Source: FAOSTAT (April, 2018)

The main deficiency diseases are related to a lack of iodine, iron and vitamin A, both commonly associated with inadequate dietary intakes and poor utilization. In the long run, micronutrient deficiency diseases limit the potential of individuals and pose a major impediment to increases in productivity and national development (Lopriore and Muehlhoff, WB, 2003). In the study two-third of Togolese women declared that they stopped breast-feeding once the infant reached “weaning age” or primarily because of new

pregnancy (6.5%), insufficient breast milk flow(6.3%) and professional constraints (3%) (Balaka et al., 2009). Also, feeding behaviors are suboptimal even in richest households, suggesting that cultural factors and poor knowledge regarding an adequate diet for young children are important to address (White et al., 2017).

In its latest data on vitamin A the WHO (2009) reported deficient some 35% of preschool aged children, and 1 in 5 pregnant women. Yet nutrient supplementation in young children, and dietary diversification can eliminate this deficiency¹⁷. The latest anemia information by the WHO (2011) reported anemic some 52% of preschool aged children, and half of all pregnant women in Togo. Iron-folic acid supplementation of pregnant women as well as deworming, the provision of multiple micronutrient supplements to infants and young children, and the fortification of staple foods are effective strategies to improve the iron status of these vulnerable subgroups (WB, 2011). Only about a quarter of households consume iodized salt, leaving children in the majority of households unprotected from iodine deficiency disorders (ibid.)

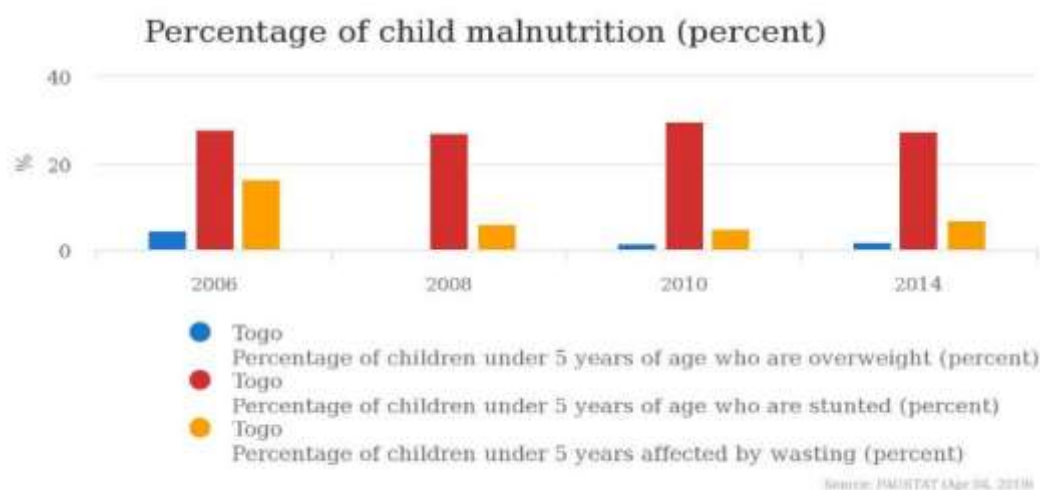
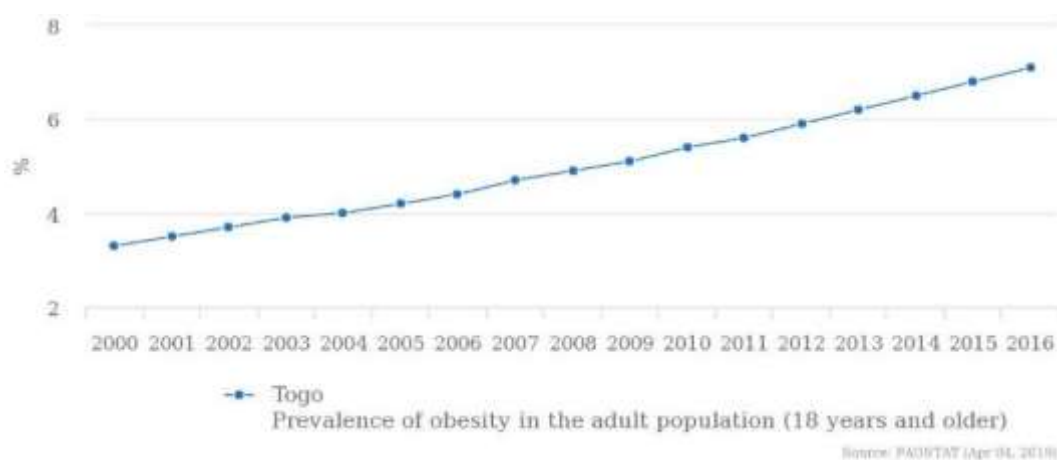
Goiter, an IDD (Iodine Deficiency Disorder) common in Togo is a good example of the effects of consumption behaviors on mental and physical wellbeing. Iodine, an essential mineral stored in the thyroid is an integral part of the synthesis of thyroid hormones. For example, in 1996 UNICEF was particularly concerned with IDDs in Togo as the consumption of iodized salt was 1%. Despite the instatement of laws and controls at the borders making the presence of non-iodized salt almost non-existent, the product continued to cross the border through smuggling, and consumption increased to 73% in Togolese households in 1998 (Lezama et al., 1997). Goiter is endemic as it affects one adult in five. In Togo, the prevalence of visible goiter in 6±12-year-old children was 21.6% and 5.3% in two endemic regions in 1999. Goiter, an enlargement of the thyroid gland at the front of the neck caused by iodine deficiency is perhaps not as serious as other IDD

¹⁷ According the World Bank (2011) an adequate intake of micronutrients, particularly iron, vitamin A, iodine and zinc, from conception to age 24 months is critical for child growth and mental development.

disorders such as mental and physical retardation, psychomotor deficiency in infants and miscarriages/still births. Many of these consequences are irreversible depending on their intensity and the age at which they occur (op. cit.). Cretinism, caused by severe iodine deficiency in gestation affects 11 million people, and 120 000 children are born each year with cerebral lesions, spastic diplegia, deaf mutism, shortened stature and hypothyroidism (ibid.). Salt, a primary flavor enhancer (especially in poor households), is therefore fundamental for the prevention of IDD. Against the smuggling of non-iodized salt, nutritional awareness is as valuable (if not more) as having knowledge of salt iodizing or hunt smugglers down. “Problems associated with nutrition always encompass inappropriate choices and practices. Nutritional education is an important step in empowering the consumer to make healthy food choices.” (FAO, 2018)

Nutrition problems include NCDs (Non-Communicable Diseases). In Togo NCDs are responsible for 38% of total deaths in 2016 against 30% in 2014 and death probability between ages 30 and 70 years from the 4 main NCDs was 20% in 2014 against 24% in 2014 (WHO, 2016). The causes include cancers, cardiovascular diseases and events, chronic respiratory diseases such as asthma and pulmonary diseases, and diabetes (WHO, 2014). Worldwide, these 4 disease types account for 82% of NCD deaths, of which 16 million occur before the age of 70 years; some 82% of those 16 million deaths occur in low- and middle-income countries (ibid.). The WHO (2014) further asserts that low and middle-income countries are witnessing the fastest ever rise in overweight young children. Unhealthy diets increases the risk of dying from an NCD and specifically from complications such as raised blood pressure, increased blood glucose, elevated blood lipids, and obesity (ibid.). Mozaffarian et al. (2014) reported that, in 2010, 1.7 million annual deaths from cardiovascular causes were attributed to excess salt/sodium intake; the main flavor enhancer in Togo which prevails in the absence of other affordable taste solutions. The study illuminated the socio-economic shifts in developing countries characterized by

the appearance of new professional profiles and middle class. This phenomenon exacerbates unhealthy habits such as sedentary lifestyles and unhealthy diets. About 3.2 million deaths/year can be attributed to insufficient physical activity and more than half of the 3.3 million deaths from harmful drinking that are recorded each year are NCD deaths (Lim et al.). Empirically, these behaviors can be linked to the physical and mental well-being of individuals in that they lead to four key metabolic/physiological changes that increase the risk of NCDs.



The increasing socio-economic shifts also participate in malnutrition, a complex, multi-sectoral problem that exists across a continuum, from under-nutrition to problems of overweight/obesity¹⁸, and diet-related non-communicable diseases (IFPRI, 2016). Clearly,

¹⁸ "The association of food insecurity with overweight and obesity (across different age groups) varies depending on the income level of the country. In the low- and lower-middle-income countries considered, living in a food-insecure household either decreases the likelihood of being overweight or obese or has a very weak or no association. In upper-middle- and high-income countries, food insecurity increases the likelihood of being overweight or obese in some age groups" (FAO, 2020).

food supply seems to have now extended into food safety with the rise of a new middle-high class. Supply insufficiency and nutritive deficiency add to an already problematic situation in a country faced with rapid population growth. According to the AFD (2015) in SSA: “The main nutritional issues today lie in the reduction of chronic malnutrition, caused by imbalances in the micronutrient profile of dietary consumption (iron-deficiency anemia, vitamin A, zinc, and iodine deficiency)...The new diseases of affluence (like obesity, diabetes, and cardiovascular diseases) have become a public health issue, particularly in cities.” Economic Growth is a double-edged sword as a 10% increase in GDP has been associated with a 6% reduction in stunting in preschool children and a 7% increase in the prevalence of overweight and obesity in women (IFPRI and Vivalo, 2013). The WHO outlined the socioeconomic impacts of NCDs as follows:

- NCDs are expected to impede poverty reduction initiatives in low-income countries, particularly by increasing the household costs associated with health care.
- The vulnerable and socially disadvantaged become sicker, and die sooner than those in higher social positions because they are exposed to harmful products, such as tobacco or unhealthy food, and they have limited access to health services.
- In low-resource settings, the health-care costs required to treat cardiovascular diseases, cancers, diabetes or chronic lung diseases can quickly drain household resources, driving families into poverty. The exorbitant costs of NCDs, including often lengthy and expensive treatments, and the loss of breadwinners, are forcing millions of people into poverty annually, stifling development.
- In many countries, harmful drinking and unhealthy diet and lifestyles occur both in higher and lower income groups. However, high-income groups can access services and products that protect them from the greatest risks, while lower-income groups often cannot afford such products and services.

Those for whom life-term chronic disease treatments are unaffordable rely on cheap counterfeit¹⁹ or improperly stored smuggled medicine worsening health and financial conditions on the long run. Emmanuel Inya-Agha, chairman of Ebonyi State Task Force on Counterfeit and Fake Drugs, stated that: “approximately 48% of goods and drugs imported into the country are substandard or counterfeit and the Nigerian health officials estimate that 70% of drugs in circulation in the country are either fake or adulterated.” (WHO, 2006). As such, not all counterfeit products exported by Nigeria is produced in Nigeria. In Africa, a large share of those products are from China²⁰ known as the world’s biggest source of medicine counterfeit (followed by India) (WHO, 2011). Although China stopped delivering such products directly under the pressure of accusations, the routes of such business remain as complex and multiple as lucrative because falsified products can be manufactured in China, then exported to Africa through Europe and infiltrate the legal distribution chain via wholesalers (ibid.). 40% of illegal medicines for EU transit through Swiss borders (OECD, 2013). Mid-2017, an operation (HEERA) coordinated by INTERPOL in West Africa to dismantle illicit factories and supply chain and involving some 1,150 law enforcement officials from police, customs and health regulatory agencies in Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Togo led to seizing more than 420 tons of illicit pharmaceutical and medical products.

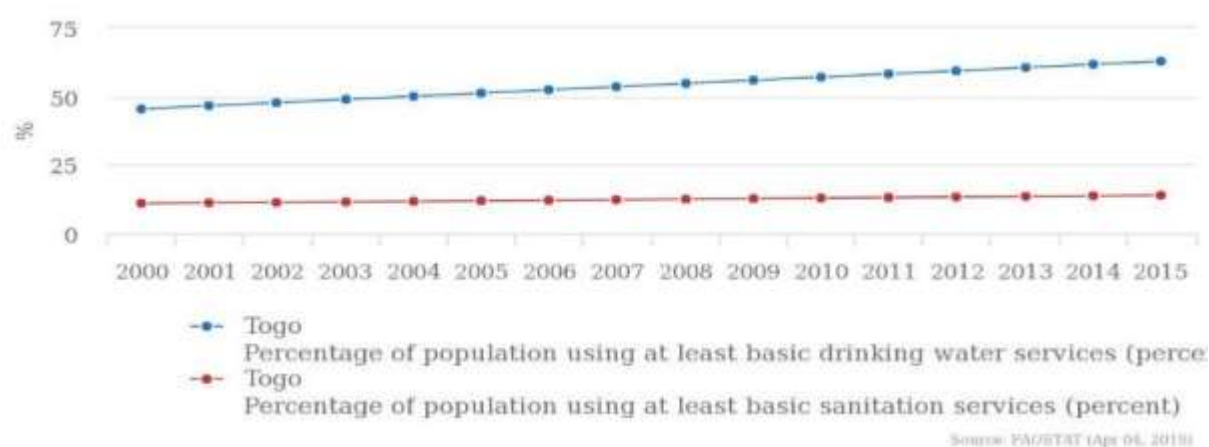
¹⁹ According to the WHO, a counterfeit medicine is “Counterfeiting can apply to both branded and generic products and counterfeit products may include products with the correct ingredients or with the wrong ingredients, without active ingredients, with insufficient active ingredients or with fake packaging.” The WHO (2006) estimated that the prevalence of counterfeit medicines ranges from less than 1 percent of sales in developed countries, to over 10 percent in developing countries, depending on the geographical area and analysis shows that counterfeiting is greater in those regions where regulatory and legal oversight is weaker, hence most developed countries with effective regulatory systems and market control (e.g. USA, EU, Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand) currently have a very low proportion, i.e. less than 1% of market value whereas many developing countries of Africa, parts of Asia, and parts of Latin America have areas where more than 30% of the medicines on sale can be counterfeit. Other developing markets, however, have less than 10%; overall, a reasonable estimate is between 10% and 30%.

²⁰ Of the 1 million yearly Malaria deaths worldwide, 200,000 are reportedly the result of counterfeit anti-malarial or tuberculosis medicine, most of which originate from China and India (OECD, 2013). In fact China has, by large, been suspected of being the source of counterfeit drugs that are holding back fight against malaria in Africa and this not only applies to fake malaria drugs, but also antibiotics and even emergency contraceptives in countries that are struggling with high birthrates (Chonghaile, 2012). The, senior fellow for global health at the US Council on Foreign Relations Laurie Garrett stated that: “If reports from African regulators are accurate, Chinese companies are responsible for the most egregious medicines frauds and misformulations seen on the continent” (ibid.). China had rejected the accusation of producing and exporting huge amounts of counterfeit medication to Africa, threatening public health in east Africa, five days after the Guardian published a front page exposé on the phenomenon (Kaiman, 2012).

The interventions consisted of:

Raids on markets, shops, pharmacies, warehouses, vehicles and illicit factories led to the seizure of more than 41 million pills and 13,000 cartons of illicit pharmaceutical and medical goods worth approximately USD 21.8 million. Some 150 people were either arrested or placed under investigation. Seized goods included health supplements, herbal products, analgesics, antibiotics, antimalarial medicine, vitamins, mineral supplements, as well as printing and packaging equipment. As part of the operation, 100 tons of illicit medicines concealed in trucks carrying fruit were seized in Koro, Benin. The trucks allegedly originated from Guinea and were destined for countries throughout the region. INTERPOL (2017),

Tamar Manuelyan Atinc, vice president of the World Bank's Human Development Network depicts a "vicious cycle where poverty causes malnutrition and malnutrition perpetuates poverty" (WB, 2016). He called for a range of technical measures such as vitamin supplements and social investments to improve food security and agriculture to address the problem, further social protection, health education and water supply sanitation which induce a serious public health issues in Togo.



World Bank Health Specialist Rabie (ibid.) raised the need to "look at the link between the food crisis, poverty and nutrition. The most affected are the poor, already vulnerable to under-nutrition. It's important to focus on the children who are the future, who will be responsible for most of the productivity in development" (ibid.). The declining crop yields in Togo along with environmental degradation and population pressure worsen malnutrition at a time when smallholders and their families depend on their farms for economic welfare and survival.

2.2 Governance: the provision-productivity social machinery

This section covers social systems theories, value chain governance through which the vulnerability of the Togolese food system will be assessed. Here issues are synonymous with both flawed actions as well as absence of positive/constructive action. The first relates to a breach in governance contract or in the civil society-institution relationship. The second may relate to the lack of pertinent amendments or responsiveness to new realities and needs. The pros and cons of interventionism in governance, namely institutional schemes, financial/material aid as well as linkages between individual liberty and creativity/innovation, education and entrepreneurship in Togo are developed. The theoretical applications for Togo are established in the conceptual framework (chapter 5). Hence this section explores governance systems by underlining behaviors/mindset at the individual, social and state levels.

2.2.1 Evolutionary and social solidarity systems theories

(Durkheim, 1973:63) stated:

It is historical law that mechanical solidarity which first stands alone, or nearly so, progressively loses ground, and that organic solidarity becomes, little by little, preponderant. But when the way in which men are solidary becomes modified, the structure of societies cannot but change. The form of a body is necessarily transformed when the molecular affinities are no longer the same. Consequently, if the preceding proposition is correct, there ought to be two social types which correspond to these two types of solidarity.

Based on econometric studies, numbers of economists agree that governance is one of the critical factors explaining the divergence in performance across developing countries (Khan, 2007; Kaufman, Kraay and Zoido., 2003, 2000, 1999; Knack and Keefer, 1995). As literature often designates poor governance as a cause of weak productivity, it is worth discussing organizational patterns. Spencer looked at societal evolution biologically as a

body going through evolutionary changes from religious toward science-oriented society²¹, one of absolute perfection. The analogy is made with the Darwinist evolutionary theory (Corning, 1982). Referring to ‘social facts’²² Durkheim also views society through a positivist spectrum but disagrees with Spencer epistemologically. In society, individuals analogically to body organs have functions in the organism. The relationship between organs determine the organism’s type of solidarity: organic or mechanical. In place of culture, Durkheim (1984[1893]) coined the term ‘collective consciousness’²³ or ‘group think’ as specific to the mechanical solidarity/society in which individuals work as a whole towards the same end goal without task specialization. It is transmitted from one generation to the next and differs from individual and isolated beliefs (ibid.61). ‘Organic solidarity’ on the other hand is specific to ‘modern’ or ‘evolved’ societies in which individuals have more affirmed personal wills and specialize in an goods and services they could trade. Thus, the principles of mutuality, complementarity and interdependency of skills exist in organic societies, whereas individual competence is invisible in a mechanical society. Durkheim’s main concern is not with the conscious or psychological state of specific individuals, but rather with the collective beliefs that are “independent of the particular conditions in which individuals are placed; they pass on and it remains” (op.cit.80). Many scholars have developed upon Durkheim’s ideas by focusing on society as a whole, and on the symbols that it encompasses.

²¹ Of all antagonisms of belief, “the oldest, the widest, the most profound and the most important, is that between Religion and Science” (Spencer, 1867:25). That is, religion can be usefully adapted to the evolutionary process of man in a way that helps his/her survival based on a general perspective of humanity. Spencer (1867:15-16) views religion in two ways: “one, that the feeling which responds to religious ideas resulted, along with all other human faculties, from an act of special creation; the other that it, in common with the rest, (it) arose by a process of evolution...both alternatives contain the same ultimate implication. We must conclude that the religious sentiment is either directly created, or is created by the slow action of natural causes...”

Durkheim defines religion as “a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church”. He emphasizes that the second criterion of religion is that it must be something ‘imminently collective’ (Durkheim, 2001[1912]:46).

²² “manners of acting, thinking, and feeling external to the individual, which are invested with a coercive power by virtue of which they exercise control over him.” (Durkheim, 2014[1895]:21)

²³ The collective consciousness is “the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society ... which forms a determinate system which has its own life” Durkheim (1984[1893]:38-39)

In Durkheim's footsteps, Turner (1967:36) reasoned around symbols as instigators of social action and "determinable influences inclining persons and groups to action". Also inspired by Durkheim, Douglas (1966) initiated the concept of individual position within or outside the social group, and the social 'grid', which is the individual's social roles across a social hierarchy (ibid.1970). Durkheim's post-positivist treatise simplified societies' classification, but also created a number of erroneous inferences. Influenced by Weber's subjectivism, Geertz (1973) developed an interpretive approach to culture, interpreting symbols as nuclear restraints, instead of measuring impacts or roles within society.

Culture...denotes an historically, transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. Of course, terms such as 'meaning', 'symbols', and 'conception' cry out for explication. But that is precisely where the widening, the broadening, and the expanding come in. (Geertz, 1973:89).

This indeed, revealed a problem in Durkheim's linear social theory. Alternatively, social-system theorists argue that societies involve several systems (communities, families, corporations, etc.). Hence, the multiplicity and complexities of rapports make it unreasonable to draw fix patterns (Lee and Brosziewski, 2017; Seidl and Becker, 2006; Vermeer, 2006; Mayrhofer, 2004; Jackson, 1985; Luhman, 1995, Parsons and Turner, 2005; Forrester, 1971). More pragmatically, Boserup's theory of innovation born from needs and individual liberty opposes any cataloguing (Boserup, 1965:23). That is, no society is more or less inclined to technological development as certain studies suggest (Ergas, 1984) because innovation and productivity mainly require motivation from necessity and individual liberty. For Boserup (ibid.) the classification by economists of populations' development capacity, 'inventiveness or closeness to advanced civilization' based on their production practices has weak foundation because it ignores "the fact that the kind of agricultural tool needed in a given context depends upon the system of land use: some technical changes can materialize only if the system of land use is modified at

the same time, and some changes in land use can come about if they are accompanied by the introduction of new tools”. Thus, innovation derives from needs are at specific times and places although necessities alone are insufficient²⁴. They must be harmonized with the emancipation of individuals through freedom to express themselves and act. Society and the individual therefore mutually define one another by reacting to one another in ways that reflect the needs and adjustments required for their harmonization. Such harmonization overall represents their mutually shared peculiarities, their culture. As such, societies must evolve their own way but can only thrive through the motivation/enthusiasm and freedom of its members.

2.2.2 New governance theory

This segment addresses aspects of governance in terms of discourse, and power balance²⁵. As governance is used in various ways and encompasses various meanings (Rhodes, 1996). Governance as used here explores social conditions as reflective of actions/behaviors of authority and civil society with regards to the notions of liberty, resources distribution, education, trade, and labor. Looking into governance is important because it identifies the power dependence involved in the relationships between institutions involved in collective action (Börzel, 2011; Stoker, 1998; Rhodes1996).

From the new governance perspective, to be efficient, governing requires more than public, private and nonprofit organizations. It must be locally targeted, interactive, integrate public participation as well as private institutions (Secco, and Burlando, 2017; Abbey et al., 2016; Verma, 2016, Amodu, 2014; Verschraegen, 2014; Kuindersma, 2012, Swyngedouw, 2005; Lawrence, 2005; Jones, 2001) and power balanced. That is, no single

²⁴ “ Sound macro-economic and structural policies are necessary for promoting economic progress and social change...public policies are insufficient if problems of institutional design and policy implementation are neglected” (Ahrens, 2002)

²⁵ “In general governance involves the development of social structures and co-ordination of these structures through contract, consensus and obligation. Governance involves individual behaviors in terms of levels of participation in developing and administrating procedures” (Howell and Sorour, 2016:.4)

actor can tackle problems unilaterally (Kooiman, 1993). As a social entity, governance underpins and acts upon social capital necessary to effective economic and political performance (Putnam, 2006). Furthermore, cultural relativism becomes necessary to comprehend the roles of sustainable human development and citizen participation in new governance (Asaduzzaman, 2020; Dean, 2020; Kim and Lee, 2019; Nelson, 2019; Kuenzi and Lambright, 2018; Farazmand, 2012; Asaduzzaman, 2011; Kakumba, 2010; Aulich, 2009; Farrelly, 2009; Sellers and Lidström, 2007; Chikerema, 2003; Blunt, 1995, Gittell, 1972). As such, developing new governance performance measuring tools with the involvement of tool users and the society of interest is necessary (Oman and Arndt, 2007). “Tool makers and tool users” as Bingham (2005) put it. This calls for cautiousness by Academia of the margins of error associated with empirical cross-country comparison of governance which are consistent in terms of framework, span a larger set of sample countries but are inevitably subject to interpretation in data synthesis (Kaufmann, Kraay and Zoido-Lobaton, 2003, 1999a). Therefore “if we want to more precisely differentiate among countries according to their level of governance, we need to improve the quality and quantity of data gathered on governance” (ibid.).

Actually, to the traditional governance indicators (government effectiveness, rule of law, and graft) Kaufmann, Kraay, and Zoido-Lobaton (1999b) based on unobserved components methodology added voice and accountability, political instability and violence, regulatory burden. Known for his works on Governance and Politics in Africa, Hyden (1992:7-13) views governance as “the conscious management of regime structures with a view to enhancing the legitimacy of the public realm” and its basic principles are authority, reciprocity, trust and accountability. One focus is that “people will participate politically with enthusiasm” (ibid.12), which may induce trust building and mutual responsibility (Hanberger, 2009). Indeed efficient governance is about harmonizing the governance spectrum in which governments as the people are “responsive, responsible and respected”

(Bourgon, 2011). The ‘newness’ however is not in the citizen participation only but in the quality of interaction²⁶ between all private and public sectors and actors without gender, age, socio-economic or political boundaries. This justified the need to expand on the socio-political status of Togo in the grey literature.

2.2.3 Value chain governance theory and GVC

The demand for men, like that for any other commodity, necessarily regulates the production of men; quickens it when it goes on too slowly, and stops it when it advances too fast. It is this demand which regulates and determines the state of propagation in all the different countries of the world, in North America, in Europe, and in China; which renders it rapidly progressive in the first, slow and gradual in the second, and altogether stationary in the last. (Smith, 2007[1776]:84).

Exploring governance in terms value chain²⁷ is of a great interest to the thesis. In fact, beyond being a basic need, food is now a competitive advantage²⁸ in an increasingly resource-constraint world with growing populations. For instance, provided the high demand of wheat bread in Togo, a colonial legacy, a French-owned firm has greatly enriched by importing and transforming wheat into flour for Togolese consumption. As such, the power dichotomy between MNEs²⁹ and local agricultural/food supply value chains can deepen or shrink in terms of technological advances, business strategy and economic performance depending on the nature of their relationship. Additionally, the importation of manufactured foodstuffs targeting West African markets becomes

²⁶ “Thus, I believe the ‘newness’ of a New Public Administration theory (if indeed newness exists) will not be found in new ideas, but rather ‘in the way the fabric is woven, not necessarily in the threads that are used’. Or, as Frederickson (1980) says in his book on the New Public Administration, ‘the newness may also be in the use of the fabric . . . however threadbare’.(Bourgon, 2011)

²⁷ A value chain describes the full range of activities which are required to bring a product or service from conception, through the different phases of production (involving a combination of physical transformation and the input of various producer services), delivery to final consumers, and final disposal after use (Kaplinsky and Morris, 2000).

²⁸ Decision implementation paradigm developed by Porter (1985) in business management and portrayed as strategic or competitive advantage tool. How value chains decisions are implemented depicts the social system and guides transaction costs, profits and economic status through a hierarchical scheme segmented in inbound logistics, operations, outbound logistics, marketing and sales and services. .

²⁹ Multinational Enterprises

complementary as solution to growing food demand. Robbins ([2007]1935:15) remarked that it is an economic opportunity when resources are scarce because scarcity calls for reviewing organizational patterns³⁰. Simply put, scarcity wakens the economic agent in people by imposing upon them a decision-making process (Maas, 2009).

If the global economy has become unescapable, some clearly control its game while others submit to it. Gereffi and Korzeniewicz (1994) initially identified two types of global governance: buyer-driven for GCCs (Global commodity chains) and producer-driven chains for GVCs. In terms of shaping the production models of countries where they operate, the first refers to the power of independent MNEs as retailers buying simple final goods produced overseas (e.g. Walmart). The second refers to the power of suppliers/producers in producing capital intensive and technology items which from conception, through material sourcing, manufacturing, to sale and final customer service are linked or affiliates in the same firm (e.g. GM, IBM). The GVC-GCC spectrum was criticized for being too bipolar and nonrepresentational of reality provided alternative governance chains in different social contexts and non-technology- driven GVCs (Blair, 2010). Indeed, first GVC-GCC discussions expanded on the empiric aspects³¹ and underlined power between client firms and suppliers at the global level with minor attention given to the overseas workforce used to produce goods.

Economy of cost transaction (ECT)³² or social cost economy³³ theory (North, 1992; Williamson, 1987, 1991) highlights the practical costs involved in the power relationships

³⁰ "Economics is the science which studies human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses." (Robbins, 2007[1935]:15)

³¹ According to Inomata (2017) "The empirical aspect of GVC studies is newer. Earlier value added analyses based on firms' business records (Dedrick, Kraemer, and Linden 2008; Xing and Detert 2010) are now complemented by input-output analysis, in which various GVC metrics were devised using multi-country input-output databases, such as trade in value added (Johnson and Noguera 2012) and supply chain length (Dietzenbacher, Romero, and Bosma 2005; Fally 2011)".

³² identifies types of action in three groups: Search and information costs that estimate demanded goods' availability on the market, price, etc.; bargaining and decision costs required to come to an acceptable agreement with the other party in the transaction (game theory, bid-ask interactions to close a deal); then Policing and enforcement costs via rule of law that ensures parties respect contract terms.

³³ cost in making any economic trade when participating in a market (North, 1992; Williamson, 1991)

within governance chains that cannot be overlooked. Although rigid in terms of framework, it nevertheless involves four factors linked to cultural context, values, and interpretation of the world (what is in/ bargain versus what is not). These are: measurement of products/services value, enforcement of transaction terms, ideological attitudes and perceptions, and market size that affects power balance in transactions. As value distribution is no longer limited to how classical theorists as Ricardo or Smith envisioned it (movement of final products) or GCCs, in sociology GVC became the cross-national transfer of tasks, or the value added generated by these tasks (Gereffi, Humphrey, and Sturgeon 2005). The now acknowledged intricacy of power balance in food economy governance creates the venue for addressing the attraction of developing countries to GVC³⁴ (Global value chain) that integrate international, therefore multi-cultural partnerships for improving economic status.

GVC participation is increasingly gaining interest as it participates in transfers of competence transfer and jobs creation where multinationals expatriate their production chain. It plays a key role in the developing economies because it involves to consumption-production relationships from multiple perspectives that integrate the contemporary reality of globalization, internet age, today inevitable.

The key to high productivity in manufacturing is the division of labor, as seen in Adam Smith's classic example of pin-making, where workers specialize in a particular task to raise their competencies through intensive learning of a specific routine. However, division of labor entails delicate coordination among the different stages because the variety of tasks must collectively produce a homogeneous product. Accordingly, the different productive functions were brought together under the same roof (a factory) to facilitate communication and create harmony among the various tasks. The information technology revolution in the 1980s completely changed this picture. With telexes, facsimiles, and the Internet—along with high-speed international communication networks—it became cheaper and easier to coordinate production units in different locations. (Inomata, 2017)

³⁴ “International production, trade and investments are increasingly organised within so-called global value chains (GVCs) where the different stages of the production process are located across different countries. Globalisation motivates companies to restructure their operations internationally through outsourcing and offshoring of activities. Firms try to optimise their production processes by locating the various stages across different sites. The past decades have witnessed a strong trend towards the international dispersion of value chain activities such as design, production, marketing, distribution, etc. This emergence of GVCs challenges conventional wisdom on how we look at economic globalisation and in particular, the policies that we develop around it.” (OECD, 2019)

As the GVC governance theory involves international activity in value chains, it requires more attention in terms of ECT. GVCs can integrate single customer or multiple value chain governance. The later can be: hierarchical (vertical integration), captive (intermediaries/brokers/franchise), relational/modular (independent) and market-based (trust-based network, non-contractual) value chains (Gereffi, Humphrey and Sturgeon, 2005). To benefit from it fairly requires the capacity to navigate a multi-governance paradigm, the constraints of which are more complex.

However by participating in GVCs, if developing countries only achieve minimum, short-term welfare, or loose in terms of ECT, it becomes critical to rethink or design new models of participation in GVCs (Mira and Hammadache, 2017; Toukan, 2016; Hali, 2003; Hall and Jones, 1999; Barro, 1996, 1991). In fact, although global value chain governance enhances trade and economic activity, they can contribute in the maintenance of food dependency of transition economies, hinder their productive capacity and affect transaction costs or bargaining power (UNCTAD, 2019; Gurria, 2012). Often, imports serve to compensate the lack of productivity in place of investments in research and development, technology, engineering expertise and innovation. Furthermore, when law enforcement is weak there can be breaches from importing transnational corporations in CSR³⁵ policies (ibid.). Consequently a win-win relationship must be pursued between GVC participation and economic growth. Henceforth, the next segment addresses government's accountability in balancing institutional and individual needs with national economic development strategies.

³⁵ Corporate Social Responsibility

2.2.4 Government and governance: is society better off without government?

Beyond origins toward pragmatist theories

“Men are utterly incapable of society without government” Hume (2006 [1738]:127) says. If socioeconomic progress depends on good governance, should the government’s unsuccessful policies lead to the conclusion that any supreme form of representation of society is in vain? The Nobel Prize Angus Deaton was asked if without government countries would have more inequality. He says:

Many governments have no interest in redistribution. Inequality between the rulers and the rest is not a bug but a feature in a deliberate strategy of exploitation and extraction. This is how colonial powers behaved, and many post-colonial leaders learned the lesson well. I am not sure what the no-government counterfactual would look like for such countries, but these governments are creating inequality, not reducing it. (Deaton, 2017)

Political reflections are, for many thinkers the starting point in analyzing the functions and ills of society³⁶. Indeed scholars looking at causal variables between the nature of state and state development as a form of organization or society generally look at how and why the state first arose in a particular area, or cross-culturally in different areas (Haas, et al., 1987:2). However, discarding social contract theory, Hayek (2014[1944]), through his relativist pragmatism approach argues that only current utility of society is pertinent because people yesterday, today or tomorrow remain consciously or unconsciously government slaves and moppets. They venerate state authority blindly: “Increasing veneration for the state, the admiration of power, and of bigness for bigness' sake, the enthusiasm for "organization" of everything (we now call it "planning") and that "inability to leave anything to the simple power of organic growth" (Hayek, 2014[1944]:194).

³⁶ Theories driven by the innate quest for equality and social welfare include: Rousseau’s social contract, Hobbesian self-preservation, Deweyan realistic pragmatism, Habermas’ cultural/historical pragmatism, and Kant’s Rousseau-Hobbes-like approach of social contract linking right and duty excluding selfish motives. Amongst the utilitarian theories are Locke’s innate individualism and Bentham’s legacies of environmental needs, Hume’s concept of the greatest good for the greatest number built on individual interest and historicity principle of timely needs’ social constructions. Hegel’s Bentham-like historical legacy challenged the analogy between government and family whilst Rawls’s version drawing from the Kantian morality emphasized the need for justice and fairness at the core of the social contract.

In contrast to Hume's argument that private interests only serve unsustainable benefits, Hayek suggested that greater benefits for society at large derive from assembled private benefits in the long-run. This advocates for an organic evolution of interdependent activities that supposedly self-regulate; the opposite stance being activity-coordination in the form of organizational hierarchy, and self-organizing 'heterarchy'³⁷.

Increasingly new governance theory is distinguished from the traditional concept of state government by initially discarding centralization and control while embracing decentralization, interaction, process, management and cooperation/participation between state and the civil society (Lievens, 2014; Keping, 2007, Gaudin, 1999; Merrien, 1999; Jessop, 1999). The key argument is that poverty is a matter of governance rather than resources (Tiihonen, 2004; Werlin, 2003; Minocha, 1998; March and Olsen, 1995; Roneau and Czempiel, 1992).

The governance paradigms therefore keep evolving toward the individuals' motivations leading to the emergence of meta-governance (Jessop, 2002; Kooiman, 1993). It acknowledges both government and governance as distinct but through literature, inductive case analysis and cross-case analysis conceptualizes the relationships between government authorities and governance networks (Gjaltema et al., 2019; Todeva, 2016).

Meta-governance is increasingly present in governance literature even though more

³⁷ Its forms include self-organizing interpersonal networks, negotiated inter-organizational co-ordination, and decentred, context-mediated inter-systemic steering. The latter two cases involve self-organized steering of multiple agencies, institutions, and systems which are operationally autonomous from one another yet structurally coupled due to their mutual interdependence. These two features are especially significant in encouraging reliance on heterarchy. For, whilst their respective operational autonomies exclude primary reliance on a single hierarchy as a mode of co-ordination, their interdependence makes them ill-suited to simple, blind co-evolution based on the 'invisible hand' of mutual, *ex post* adaptation. Such incrementalism is sub-optimal because it is based on short-run, localized, *ad hoc* responses and thus takes inadequate account of the complex and continuing interdependence among these autonomous agencies, institutions, and systems. The 'self-organization of inter-organizational relations' is a familiar form of governance in many different contexts. (Jessop, 2008)

"De-centered, context-mediated inter-systemic steering' form of governance involves the coordination of differentiated institutional orders or functional systems (such as the economic, political, legal, scientific, or educational systems), each of which has its own complex operational logic such that it is impossible to exercise effective overall control of its development from outside that system. The political and legal systems, for example, cannot control the overall development of the economy through coercion, taxation, legislation, judicial decisions, and so forth. This does not exclude specific external interventions to produce a particular result; it does exclude control over that result's repercussions on the wider and longer-term development of the whole system. This indicates that there may be better prospects of 'steering' systems' overall development by taking serious account of their own internal codes and logics and modifying the structural and strategic contexts in which these continue to operate; and by co-ordinating these contexts across different systems in the light of their substantive, social, and spatio-temporal interdependencies." (Jessop, 2018, Glasgow and Willke, 1987)

complex to grasp intellectually and methodologically (Gjaltema et al., 2019; Torfing et al., 2012; Roe, 2019; Mundle, Beisheim and Berger, 2017; Albareda and Waddock, 2016; Rayner, 2015). The lack of clear and focus frame reaffirms the purpose of a regulatory system when for instance populations grow faster than food/agricultural productivity. Kant (1996[1783]:18) argued that before dismissing government, one must consider the alternatives to ensuring social justice as fairness³⁸ in social operations/activities³⁹. That is because meta-governance is practically complex to compute efficiently for the unified society and even for each individuals (Yildirim, 2020; Little, 2011; Santos, 2009; Mintzberg, 1996; Jordan et al., 2003). Nonetheless self-interests can be reframed cohesively in order to foster cooperation (Justice, 2006). Indeed Hume (1817:305-306) claimed that society should consider that fighting for one's private interests is chaotic in the long run. Therefore any society that has not embraced the idea that the greatest good prevails over personal interests cannot thrive because its citizens do not care for one another and for the society at large.

2.2.4.1 Interventionist and anti-interventionist theories

In a 'laissez-faire' context, to which extent does the 'invisible hand' equilibrate the power balance between the vulnerable and powerful, communities and corporations?

In the absence of categorical assertions, tangible state representation is generally sought. Mill (2013[1859]) deplored government intervention specifically in economic activities. While advocating for a minimum intervention of the state in the economy, and individuals interests, in terms of democracy, Mill distinguished between liberties belonging to the

³⁸ "Since all are similarly situated and no one is able to design principles to favor his particular condition, the principles of justice are the result of a fair agreement or bargain. For given the circumstances of the original position, the symmetry of every one's relations to each other, this initial situation is fair between individuals as moral persons, that is as rational beings with their own ends and capable, I shall, assume of the sense of justice" (Rawls, 1971).

³⁹ "A revolution may well bring about a falling off of personal despotism and of avaricious or tyrannical oppression, but never a true reform in one's way of thinking; instead new prejudices will serve just as well as old ones to harness the great unthinking masses." (Kant (1996[1783]:18).

private sphere and subject to government interference and those that are not. “The state must respect the liberty of persons in matters that specifically regard them – but also control the power those persons exercise over others...Those persons who defends the present unjust status quo are standing firmly on the side of despotism, not liberty” (Mill, 2013 [1859]:122). Thus, regarding fields as social protection, how parents raise children⁴⁰, or family planning incentives the government has more competence than private agencies/individuals (ibid.123-125). At the international level Mill (2004[1848]:54) observed “...increase of the general riches of the world, when accompanied with freedom of commercial intercourse” because “commodities constitute the means of payment for commodities” (ibid.). However, provided social distinctiveness, it is not clear how to determine which liberties fall under the scope of individual liberty and which are the responsibility of the state universally. Hayek (2014[1944]) considers that a prosperous economy derives from the freedom of people to make their own computed decisions. That is, through freedom, knowledge develops and creates wealth. For Hayek (1992:140-141) the centralization of power generates economically inefficient bureaucratic decisions. Only practical needs generate practical solutions that balance supply and demand, hence social wellbeing (ibid. 2012[1948]:87). To avoid confusion and to ensure society’s self-adjustment, economic affairs should be separated from state affairs (Hayek, 1991: 33). This viewpoint combines the ‘invisible hand’ of Smith (2007[1776]:291) and the self-adjusting economic balance of Bastiat (1996:61). The principle of liberty set out by classical liberalists⁴¹ holds that the repression of individual freedom is harmful for the society’s welfare.

Among interventionists, Keynes (2010[1926]) disapproves the exclusion of government from economic matters but finds necessary for each state to define the role of government

⁴⁰ “Misapplied notions of liberty exist where the powers that fathers/parents have over their children are concerned. The state again fails to fulfil its real duties here. It is almost as though a father’s children were an integral part of him...Democracy is often all too transitory in countries without broad, deep bases of civil activity and local liberty to rest upon” (Mill, ibid. 122-127).

⁴¹ Smith (2007[1776], (1803), Ricardo (1846), Malthus (1798), etc.

based on its market profile⁴². North (1992) argues that institutions, understood as the set of rules in a society, are determinant for economic growth as they can fix imbalances in exchanges as lowering transaction costs⁴³ in order to encourage trade. Like Hume, Keynes (2010[1926]) finds state intervention determinant in avoiding chaos from the struggles for personal interests. In the society, some are better equipped than others in terms of adaptability, opportunity or material/intellectual capital. Without government intervention the weak are fated to failure as per the Darwinian principles of survival. Such injustice may lead them to becoming enslaved by fittest individuals. From this perspective, Mill (2004 [1875]:199) condemned the grant of all types of liberties but condone liberty in economic competition because “if competition has its evils, it prevents greater evils.” (ibid.). That is, to avoid anomy⁴⁴ only certain liberties are adequate. For Mill (2013[1859]:127) there is no “automatic ruling out of much government intervention”. The weak can be heard through a representative group that defends common interests. In place of a capitalist system, Mill favored the economic freedom of worker cooperatives alongside the government. Finally Hayek admitted the necessity of government in certain matters:

In no system that could be rationally defended would the state just do nothing. An effective competitive system needs an intelligently designated and continuously adjusted legal framework as much as any other. Even the most essential prerequisite of its proper functioning, the prevention of fraud and deception (including exploitation of ignorance) provided a great and by no means yet fully accomplished object of legislative activity.
(Hayek, 2014[1944]:88)

More recently, economists have emphasized resources distribution as belonging to the domain of the government in order to ensure fairness through more selective aid

⁴² “The phrase laissez-faire is not to be found in the works of Adam Smith, of Ricardo, or of Malthus....It was the political campaign for free trade, the influence of the so-called Manchester school and of the Benthamite Utilitarians, the utterances of secondary economic authorities, and the education stories of Miss Martineau and Mrs. Marcet, that fixed laissez-faire in the popular mind as the practical conclusion of orthodox political economy...In short, the dogma had not hold of the educational machine; it has become a copybook maxim” (Keynes, 2010 [1926]:279-280).

⁴³ The idea was popularized by Nobel Prize Williamson (1991)

⁴⁴ “...no civilized states will uphold contracts under which persons sell themselves as slaves...If people sell themselves as slaves, they abdicate their liberty...The principle of freedom cannot require that people should be free not to be free: allowing people to alienate their freedom is not allowing them freedom”.(Mill, 2013 [1859]: 120)

allocations (Deaton, 2017; White and Killick, 2001; Williams and Young, 1994). However, government is not always synonymous for good governance when it fails to provide the expected services from governance (Rosenau and Czempiel, 2010; Richards and Smith, 2002; Stowe, 1992). Economic growth on its own does not eradicate poverty when it does not widen the gap between poor and rich. Massive emigration, rural exodus at the regional level, or food insecurity count among the consequences (Lingua 2019; Ferreira, 2018; Zivkovic, 2017; van der Voort, 2015). However this does not condone distrust in the government. Mintzberg (1996) argues that it is a virtual concept to think that the best government is the one that does not exist because the concept of good governance is context-based.

We need proud, not emasculated, government. Attacks on government are attacks on the fabric of society. We have individual needs, to be sure, but a society that allows them to undermine collective needs will soon destroy itself. We all value private goods, but they are worthless without public goods—such as policing and economic policies—to protect them.
(Mintzberg, 1996)

That is, government is not all bad or all good but must be defined based on a normative model that implicates specific values and beliefs. Indeed, failure in policy implementation is increasingly considered as dependent of the gap between culture and reform or mismatch between institutions and economic policy for development (Tuurnas, 2016; MacDonald et al., 2010; Guile, 2010; Eduful, 2009; Khan, 2009a, 2009b, 2007, 2005, 2004; Kohler-Koch, Rodrik, 2007, 2005, 2002, 1997; Rittberger, 2006; Hausmann, Pritchett and Rodrik (2004); Schneider, 2004). Such gaps are worsened by international pressures that force nations' competitive advantage toward a certain standardized governance policy interventions, democracy and reform formulations (Kelly and Dodds, 2012; Pereira and Ruysenaar, 2012, Jreisat, 2004; Van der Veen, 2004; Alence, 2004).

2.2.4.2 Measuring aid dependency in interventionist governance

Malthus (1992 [1806-1826]:227) insisted that assistance to the poor only puts his vigilance and accountability to sleep⁴⁵. Several studies suggest that the quantity of food aid received by households is usually too small to encourage their reliance on it (Barrett and Maxwell, 2005; Little, 2005; Lentz and Barrett, 2005 in FAO, 2006:35). However, the FAO(2006:32) asserts that: “Simple food aid may have a number of negative impacts at the household, community or national level, but the three most common issues are : (i) whether food aid creates “dependency”; (ii) whether it destabilizes local markets and agricultural growth; and (iii) whether it disrupts commercial trade patterns”.

The emerging literature on poverty traps (FAO, *ibid*; Carter and Barrett, 2006; Dercon, 2004; Dercon and Krishnan, 2003) highlighted that the poor are often excessively risk-averse: “Their overly cautious management of risk causes them to opt for low-risk, low-return livelihood strategies that leave them chronically poor and vulnerable. Providing insurance to these households in any form may encourage greater risk-taking behaviors, which are desirable as a longer-term strategy for self-reliance”. Research has also shown that food aid flows can have two broad effects: an insurance effect⁴⁶ before the flow and a transfer⁴⁷ effect after the flow. (Lentz, Barrett and Hoddinott, 2005). The lack of qualitative knowledge about countries where they perform, also participate in the poor position of NGOs in terms of influencing the real drivers of social change (Banks, Hulme

⁴⁵ “Almost everything that has been hitherto done for the poor has tended, as if with solicitous care, to throw a veil of obscurity over this subject, and to hide from them the true cause of their poverty...In searching for objects of accusation, he never adverts to the quarter from which all his misfortune originate. The last person that he would think of accusing is himself, on whom, in fact the principal blame lies, except in as far as he has been deceived by the higher classes of society” (Malthus, 1992 [1806-1826]:227).

“The third sector nonprofit (the first being state and the second being private) provides an ‘alternative to disadvantages associated with profit maximization and bureaucracy by combining the flexibility and efficiency of markets with the equity and predictability of public bureaucracy” (Anheier and Seibel, 1990:7)

⁴⁶ Effects before the aid flow are expectations of compensations that fills/replaces individual insurance and increases risk-taking (FAO, 2006).

⁴⁷ Increase in income and possibly food supply lead to decrease in demand which increases slower than supply. As scarcity is reduced, pressure can be put on local food prices due to new demand displacing commercial purchases abroad or to other domestic supplied integrated in the global markets (FAO, 2006).

and Edwards, 2015). Increasingly, donors also seek evidence of better concrete outcomes, not only for the country, but also for themselves (ATI, 2016; Alence, 2015). Actually, “much attention has focused on identifying development success stories, but there are also exercises that try to assess the efficiency of different interventions, often through cost–benefit exercises” (Investments to end poverty report, 2013:101). When it comes to transparency, both aid recipient and donor countries are concerned about the mismanagement of business and state affairs or corruption. A lack of transparency about fund management by donor countries also subsists. As study estimated that “at least \$22bn (£13.7bn) of the \$100bn-plus reported by donors as bilateral official development assistance (ODA) in 2011 was never transferred to developing countries. The money was instead spent on activities in donor countries, or put towards the cancellation or rescheduling of debts” (Provost, 2016 [2013]). Researchers have therefore challenged the claim that large aid amounts are cash lump sum that are passed directly from donor to recipient. Aid is in fact a bundle of things including money, food and other goods, salaries for consultants and staff that provide technical advice and training (Investments to end poverty report, 2013:77). Thus, aid is often used to diminish national debt, hence does not always reach those who need direct assistance. The “Lack of clarity on what is included in the data leads to problems of what is being measured and enhances risks of double counting different resources” (ibid.115). A large share of citizens in recipient countries are unaware of these repartitions. As such, it can be concluded that aid has never been injected as promised, and that state officials keep, share or use aid corruptively. Overall, aid may appear to be a positive form of interventionism, but there are questions as to the real long-term impacts. Further research should assess these on a country-specific ground.

2.2.4.3 Knowledge and criticism in governance

“Knowledge in the form of an informational commodity indispensable to productive power is already, and will continue to be, a major –perhaps the major- stake in the worldwide competition for power” Lyotard (1984 [1979]:5) says. For Kant, freedom is the key to knowledge and critique⁴⁸. Synthesizing, the cornucopian Simon (1996) identified both knowledge and freedom as critical variables in food supply issues: “The world’s problem is not too many people, but a lack of political and economic freedom.” He also stated that because the wealthy world possesses stocks of skilled experts, it can find remedies for a new disease prompter than a poor world (ibid.).

What education and freedom mean to food system governance involve technological knowledge/technical expertise, creativity/innovation in value chains as well as nutritional awareness, food perception/ choice and the outcomes of all these on the supply value chain. Von Mises’s liberalist stand is that historically, planned education has delivered less to humanity than accidental discoveries and mistakes from which people learn (Von Humboldt 1854 [1791], Hayek (2011[1960]:514). We survive, grow to adapt to these and thrive around unplanned changes. Hayek (2011[1960:377-499) argued that children’s physical and mental wellbeing should be left to their parents/guardians, and the rest to individual experience. Only children’s protection can be part of the government’s responsibility (ibid.503) because governments orient knowledge politically and subjugate individuals to a sovereign state power (ibid.500). As such, most effective social changes come from ills that are not learnt but experienced. Marcuse (1979) also defended that ills are primarily solvable by suffering populations, even those ignorant of their rights.

In contrast, Mill (2013 [1859]:122) encouraged state education because individuals need to know their advantages and the institutions which fall under the duty of the state.

⁴⁸ “If it is only allowed freedom, enlightenment is almost inevitable” (Kant (1983[1784]:33). Enlightenment, for Kant (ibid.) was man’s emergence from cowardice and laziness toward the courage to affirm his opinion and use his own understanding without guidance from another.

Malthus agrees because ignorance tends to take over without awareness⁴⁹. That is, learnt knowledge is necessary because many do not learn from practical situations (Malthus, 1990[1803]:154-155): “I agree most cordially with Adam Smith in thinking that an instructed and well-informed people would be much better able to detect the false declamation of interested and ambitious demagogues than an ignorant people.” Mill (2013 [1859]:131) suggested: “societies and polities aim at the greatest dissemination of power consistent with efficiency and the greatest diffusion of information consistent with effective central collection of information.” Indeed, the dualism of social norms and enlightenment cultures concerning knowledge, individual liberty and duty complicates policy implementation/success. Globalization⁵⁰ has brought people closer to self-awareness over recent decades validating Hegel’s thoughts on self-consciousness through mutual recognition⁵¹. Nonetheless, self-recognition through the introduction to other knowledges leads to frustration if one cannot express, share and question the status-quo. Whereas certain cultures claim that knowledge, as traditions, was “never secure from falsification” (Lyotard, 1984[1979]:26), other cultures see traditions as untouchable and inalterable. As such, knowledge instead of being empowering can be enslaving without the freedom to put it to use through critic or innovation. This well illustrates in the statement that: “man is born free, but he is everywhere in chains. He who believes himself the master of others does not escape being more of a slave than they” (Rousseau (1988[1762]:17). Indeed, true knowledge, for Kant is evolutionary and revolutionary and without questioning/criticism it becomes poisonous. It is always in action, pointing towards a goal: “What can I know?” “What ought I to do?” and “What may I hope?” (Kant (1838[1781]:605).

⁴⁹ As such “...the benefits derived from education are among those which may be enjoyed without restriction of numbers; and as it is in the power of governments to confer these benefits, it is undoubtedly their duty to do it.” (Malthus, 1989[1826]:154).

⁵⁰ Various media, and interactions with other people with different cultures have facilitated this change.

⁵¹ Hegel (2007[1827]:144) asserts that: “...in order for me to have self-consciousness, it is necessary for me to know myself in the other.”

Further, norms as justice, when ambiguous as non-written and unverifiable customary laws, complicate criticism and measurability of fairness. Rawls (2009 [1971]:11) refers to this as a hypothetical “primitive condition of culture” in which “no one knows his place in society, his class position or social status, nor does anyone knows his fortune in the distribution of natural assets and abilities, his intelligence, strength and the like... The principles of justice are chosen behind a veil of ignorance.” This leads to a further focus in the thesis on the philosophical nature and power of social norms in governance.

2.2.5 Anthropology and social psychology of food: Demand-provision-productivity links

“Culture identifies acceptable behavior and is intrinsic in determining how people think... outlines acceptable modes of behaving and thinking in specific societies.” (Howell, 2013:118)

Some anthropologists study eating/drinking in connection with different aspects of social life as a form of food anthropology. Others are concerned with dietary matters and how food-related practices and beliefs affect physical well-being. The latter approach is a form of nutritional anthropology. These two perspectives need to be considered together if the aim is to form a complete picture of food culture (Dirks & Hunter, 2014). Even though the basic principles of what constitute a healthy diet remain the same, the cultural context is also important to consider, as is the local availability of foods and dietary customs (FAO, 2015; WHO, 2016). Food is an important medium for social interaction and identity, and changes in consumption are not limited to the satisfaction of basal biological needs (UNESCO, 2017). Society itself is increasingly concerned with food. Understanding rapid changes in this sector requires a multidisciplinary approach to food provision and consumption.

Social psychology is also pertinent in food studies because it focuses on ethnic behaviors linked to group norms and local beliefs. It is the scientific study of how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are influenced by the imagined or implied presence of others that matters (Allport, 1985). According to Aldridge et al. (2009) eating patterns and behaviors govern the nature and content of children's eating psychology. Consideration must be given to: demand, eating frequency, awareness of food within the environment, context, categorical and taste familiarity amongst other parameter. Familiarity with social rules therefore guides the way in which individuals react to their relationship with food.

Also, compatibility of policies with the social discourse and standards is necessary to raise awareness of dietary implications at the individual and state levels⁵². Indeed, the availability of funds and the implementation of governmental project plans are subject to the power of traditional and local representatives over whom post-colonial law truly has limited influence⁵³.

Seemingly a joint approach is necessary to balance food needs and governance of food chains. In order to understand perceptions (including that of food) and “how its evolving medium influences the relationship between marketer and consumer, it is vital to approach the question of ‘meaning making’ from varying perspectives” (Ozuem, 2004:3). That is, Ozuem, Howell, and Lancaster (2008:1079) suggested that “products and messages should be co-created in the consumption process” as consumers are “creative and innovative partners in the creation of experiences in the consumption process” (ibid.1080). Food meaning is also a determinant. Studying the Zumbagua, a parish of mostly indigenous Ecuadorians, Weismantel (1988) uncovered that diet, cuisine, talk about food, and kitchen routines contributed to a better understanding of Andean culinary history. It

⁵² Fan and Brzeska, (2014) argue: “...moving forward, policy actions should focus on strengthening the following areas: climate-smart and nutrition-sensitive agricultural productivity, smallholder-friendly value chains, productive social safety nets, evidence-based policymaking, and the engagement of new players. These efforts will of course need to be adapted to the country-specific socioeconomic and environmental challenges and opportunities in the region”.

⁵³ The scopes of the power of “tradition” is hard to measure as few written records of traditional law. “Land tenure regulations are still dominated by traditional African customary laws, re-interpreted by traditional chieftains and local authorities, often to their own advantage, notably in the countryside.”(BTI, 2016)

also led to more awareness of current ecological and economic crises; changing cultural and political allegiances; categorical differences between men and women, old and young; and conflicts between traditional and modern ways (Dirks & Hunter, 2014).

Similarly, location is crucial. Even though West Africa shares ‘similar’ cultures as broadly suggested in literature, food problems in West African countries are diverse and affect each country differently. Daily per caput DES is around 2500 kcal in the coastal zone and less than 2200 kcal in the Sahel (Lopriore and Muehlhoff, 2003; FAO, 2003). In contrast, protein deficiency is more common in coastal countries, where a typical diet contains only 45 g of protein per caput, compared to 60 g in the Sahelian zone (Hofonga and van den Boom, 2003:167-182). Largely, the improvement of DES per capita has been slower in the coastal countries where population growth has been more pronounced. In contrast to Sahelian countries, coastal countries consume a wider variety of vitamin-A rich foods, such as red palm oil, yellow-fleshed tubers and a variety of fruits such as papaya and pumpkin. These contribute to 11% vitamin A intake for women and children (ibid.).

Beyond the biophysical dimension, demography, socio-economic status, ethnicity, socio-cultural meanings of hunger/satiety, food preferences, and beliefs also influence food choices (Tepper et al. 1997). According to Aldridge et al. (2009) the influence of familiarity on food preferences is also explained with regards to both positive and negative associative learning⁵⁴. “Familiarity is consistently achieved through exposure...Research consistently shows that acceptance of novel foods can be greatly improved by increasing perceived or associated familiarity.”(ibid.)

Therefore is it important to make feeding a positive experience and child-led as much as possible. In other words, “children should be given the forum and provisions to sample broader varieties of foods and become familiar and comfortable with them. It is often

⁵⁴ Aldridge et al. (2009) have further explained that “physical and emotional reactions and associations to the consumption of a novel food are crucial, if the experience is positive, whether this is the social and emotional atmosphere during feeding or the physiological effect of the food itself, preferences are liable to form. Conversely, if the experience is negative or coercive in any way, this will be associated with the food item and rejection will inevitably follow.”

overlooked that, even from infancy, children have the capacity to choose based on preferences and quickly familiarize themselves with their own hunger and satiety cues. It is when these biological determined factors are overridden that feeding can become a negative experience and acceptance of new foods is reduced” (op. cit.).

Finally, nutrition-education ensures the effectiveness of food-based approaches⁵⁵. This works well because empowering women through education is a powerful weapon against malnutrition. Though, for implementations to be sustainable, monitoring is necessary, because without long term support, families that have initially adopted new practices often revert to previous patterns (Lopriore and Muehlhoff in Basics, 1998). As no nutritional choice is possible where scarcity threats or prevails, the next section discusses the basic supply problem.

⁵⁵ “Increased knowledge and skills enable them to earn higher incomes and thus enhance household food security, and education improves the quality of day-to-day care women give to their children. The positive association between maternal education and health and nutritional status of children is well established. Educated women have fewer children, seek medical attention sooner for themselves and their children, and provide better care and nutrition for their children” (Chopra and Darnton-Hill, 2006).

2.3 Demographic theories: The Supply-Population equation

“In most countries, among the lower classes of people, there appears to be something like a standard of wretchedness, a point below which they will not continue to marry and propagate their species. This standard is different in different countries, and is formed by various concurring circumstances of soil, climate, government, degree of knowledge, and civilization, etc.”
(Malthus, 1989 [1798]:155)

This section covers the relationships between food and demographic economics, including population and family theories that will be framed with the Togolese context. It provides a set of theoretical perspectives on the linkages between population size and food security/safety. Indeed, Togo faces a strong and rapid annual population growth⁵⁶ rate largely attributed to high fertility.

Stimulated by food supply concerns, the interest of economists in population growth has generated streams of theories on population, family, and food economics. These all too often yield simplistic interpretations that are unsuitable to pursue through research. The misunderstanding of norms of symbolic meaning in behavioral patterns is common in SSA. Among these, family size norms for instance through theoretical perspectives can help understand what the high fertility rate observed in Togo mean. Such understanding, in turn, can better assist policy formulations. Hence, the aim of the following population, food supply and family theories is to help substantiate valuable insights on the study area.

In a cornucopian framework, earth possesses enough resources to supply its population. As such, it can be argued that scarcity resulting from overpopulation/population growth is a myth. From this outlook, procreation equals intelligence creation. Innovations, technological developments and triumphs over illnesses all confirm that people are assets. Yet, Boserup (1965), major cornucopian icon, admitted that even if human capital is valuable for stimulating the technological advances needed to fulfill rising demands,

⁵⁶ Togo ranked 18th out of 195 countries in terms of experiencing the fastest yearly population growth rate (2.45%) in the world and 26th in terms of fertility rate (4.38 children/woman (CIA, 2019; WB, 2019; UNDESA, 2019).

overpopulation under certain conditions can induce unsuitable farming practices⁵⁷ damageable to the land (ibid.; Grigg, 1974). Soil degradation processes have been linked to an increase in population exceeding 300 inhabitants km². The consequences include the loss of organic soil matter and decreases in agricultural yield forcing migrations (Brabant et al., 1996) especially when there is a lack of technical knowledge of soils⁵⁸ (Goh, 2004). Togo “suffers from overexploitation of natural resources, particularly forest products, linked to human activities. The result of these activities is the destruction of vegetation, leaving the soil bare and highly eroded. The combined effect of declining soil fertility, linked to the destruction of vegetative cover, and unpredictable rainfall, caused by climate change, is the gradual decline of agricultural production causing poverty in local communities” (AFSA, 2016). In West African Sahel, climatic perturbations have led to decreased human carrying capacity to a level below that required by population densities. This has further encouraged farming practices which deplete soil quality and result in per-area productivity losses (Marks et al. 2008; Sebastia et al., 2008; Kirwan, 2007). In such a context, it is unclear why human’s intellectual capital hardly keeps pace with the exhaustible nature of land.

In terms of contemporary food concerns, quality and safety add up to scarcity. Access to nutritious food, and eating frequency are problematical for many. The famous argument by Malthus (1798), that human population growth will outpace the earth’s ability to produce adequate food supplies, continues to worry many analysts some two centuries after the observation was made (Brown, 1998). From a cornucopian framework, human

⁵⁷ “Population increase leads to the adoption of more intensive systems of agriculture in primitive communities and an increase of total agricultural output. This process, however, can hardly be described as economic growth in the generally accepted sense of this term, since the proximate effect upon output per man-hour is to lower it. But sustained growth of total population and of total output in a given area has secondary effects which at least in some cases can set off a genuine process of economic growth, with rising output per-man hour, first in non-agricultural activities and later in agriculture.” (Boserup, 1965:118)

⁵⁸ According to Goh (2004), knowledge of soils has important implications on soil productivity and the potential of using soils to enhance soil C storage and reduce greenhouse gases (GHGs) in the atmosphere for mitigating predicted climate changes. Globally, most agricultural and degraded soils can provide significant potential sinks for atmospheric CO₂. However, soil C accumulation does not continue to increase with time with increasing C inputs but reaches an upper limit or “C saturation level,” which governs the ultimate limit of soil C sink. The control of this limit relies on understanding soil C stabilization mechanisms.”

lives, as assets, made the victory of life over death possible by reducing deaths through scientific advances in medicine. Now, with the high fertility rates old fears of scarcity have reemerged. Long-term focus has since raises questions about earth's carrying capacity (King, 1969). How the cornucopian and Malthusian frameworks may resonate in the spiritual, cultural, social and political Togolese context are reviewed in this section.

2.3.1 Reviewing of the legitimacy of procreation as a threat to food security

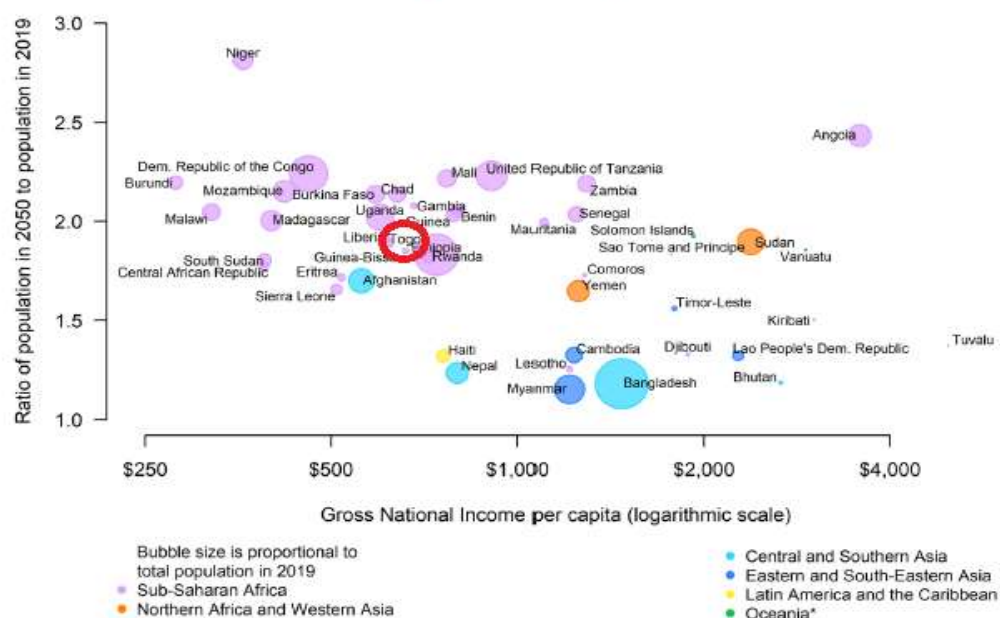
“It would appear to be setting the tortoise to catch the hare. Finding therefore that, from the laws of nature, we could not proportion the food to the population, our next attempt should naturally be to proportion the population to the food. If we can persuade the hare to go to sleep, the tortoise may have some chance of overtaking her.” (Malthus (1992 [1803-1826]:230)

The contribution of demographic theories relates to how population size and scarcity correlate in the Togolese social context. Some two years after Malthus's essay on the principle of population, McEvedy and Jones (1978) estimate the global population in year 1800 to be about 0.9 billion. Estimations of global population size were respectively 603,190,000 for the year 1700 and 1,041,695,000 for the year 1820. Roser (2016[2015]) underscores that the “large world population size is only a very recent development, as around 200 years ago the world population was less than 1 billion. Due to poverty, high mortality rates and recurring crises the world population grew slowly in the millennia before the onset of the Enlightenment.” The world population in the year 1 was estimated at 170 million, and only 125 thousand if one goes back 1 million years before the contemporary era (Kremer, 2015[1993]). By 1650, the world's population had risen to 500 million, despite the Black Plague which killed 50% of the Byzantine Empire in the sixth century (100 million deaths) and slowed the rate of growth (Haub, 2011). By 1800, the world's population passed 1 billion (ibid.) and amounted to 7.7 billion in 2019 (UNDESA, 2019). Between 1950 and 2010 the world population grew by over 90% (3.3 billion people)

(FAO, 2009). That is an additional one billion people since 2007 and two billion since 1994. The global population is expected to reach 8.5 billion in 2030, 9.7 billion in 2050 and 10.9 billion in 2100⁵⁹ (UNDESA, 2019).

Togo's population is estimated to have grown to four times its size between 1960 and 2010 (CIA, 2017). Convincingly, there has been a population explosion over a relatively short period⁶⁰. Togo is among the 47 LDCs that are the world's fastest growing of which most are projected to double in population between 2019 and 2050 putting pressure on already strained resources (UNDESA, 2019).

Many of the least developed countries that are anticipating rapid population growth are also among the poorest, with per capita annual GNI below US\$1,000



Data sources: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). *World Population Prospects 2019*. GNI is from World Bank (2018). *World Development Indicators*. GNI per capita, Atlas method.

* excluding Australia and New Zealand

⁵⁹ according to the medium-variant projection, which assumes a decline of fertility for countries where large families are still prevalent, a slight increase of fertility in several countries where women have fewer than two live births on average over a lifetime, and continued reductions in mortality at all ages.(UNDESA, 2019)

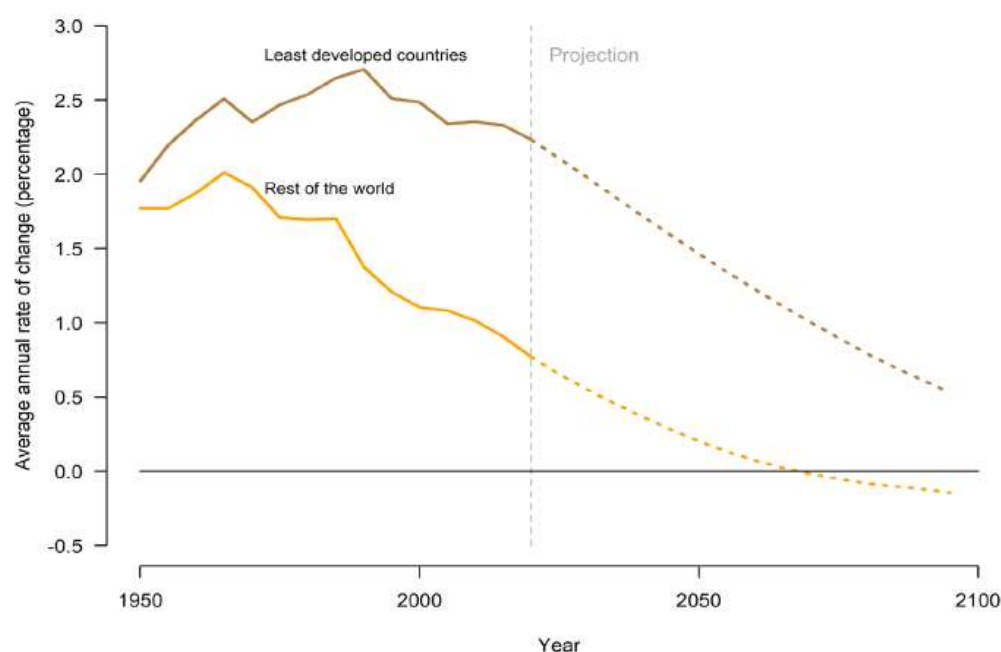
⁶⁰ The world's population is projected to grow from 7.7 billion in 2019 to 8.5 billion in 2030 (10% increase), and further to 9.7 billion in 2050 (26%) and to 10.9 billion in 2100 (42%). The population of sub-Saharan Africa is projected to double by 2050 (99%). Other regions will see varying rates of increase between 2019 and 2050: Oceania excluding Australia/New Zealand (56%), Northern Africa and Western Asia (46%), Australia/New Zealand (28%), Central and Southern Asia (25%), Latin America and the Caribbean (18%), Eastern and South-Eastern Asia (3%), and Europe and Northern America (2%) (ibid.)

Region	Population (millions)			
	2019	2030	2050	2100
World	7 713	8 548	9 735	10 875
Sub-Saharan Africa	1 066	1 400	2 118	3 775
Northern Africa and Western Asia	517	609	754	924
Central and Southern Asia	1 991	2 227	2 496	2 334
Eastern and South-Eastern Asia	2 335	2 427	2 411	1 967
Latin America and the Caribbean	648	706	762	680
Australia/New Zealand	30	33	38	49
Oceania*	12	15	19	26
Europe and Northern America	1 114	1 132	1 136	1 120
Least developed countries	1 033	1 314	1 877	3 047
Land-locked Developing Countries	521	659	926	1 406
Small Island Developing States	71	78	87	88

Data source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). *World Population Prospects 2019*.

* excluding Australia and New Zealand

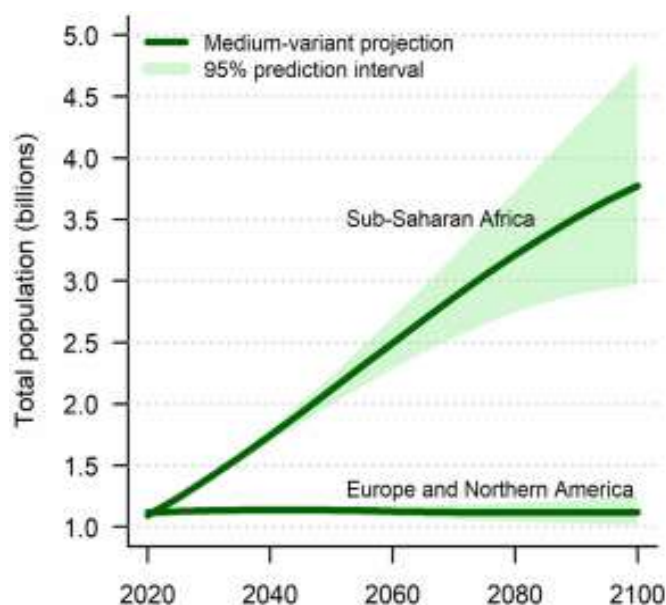
The total population of the least developed countries is growing at a rate that is 2.5 times faster than the growth rate of the total population of the rest of the world



Data source: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2019). *World Population Prospects 2019*.

As the prevalence of undernourishment in developing countries could fall from 16.3% (823 million) in 2003/5 to 4.8% in 2050, 370 million people would be undernourished in 2050 with more pronounced declines in East and Asia but less in SSA (ibid.). Some ecological economists and environmentalists (Rees and Nagel, 2007; Wilson, 2002; Cohen, 1998) have

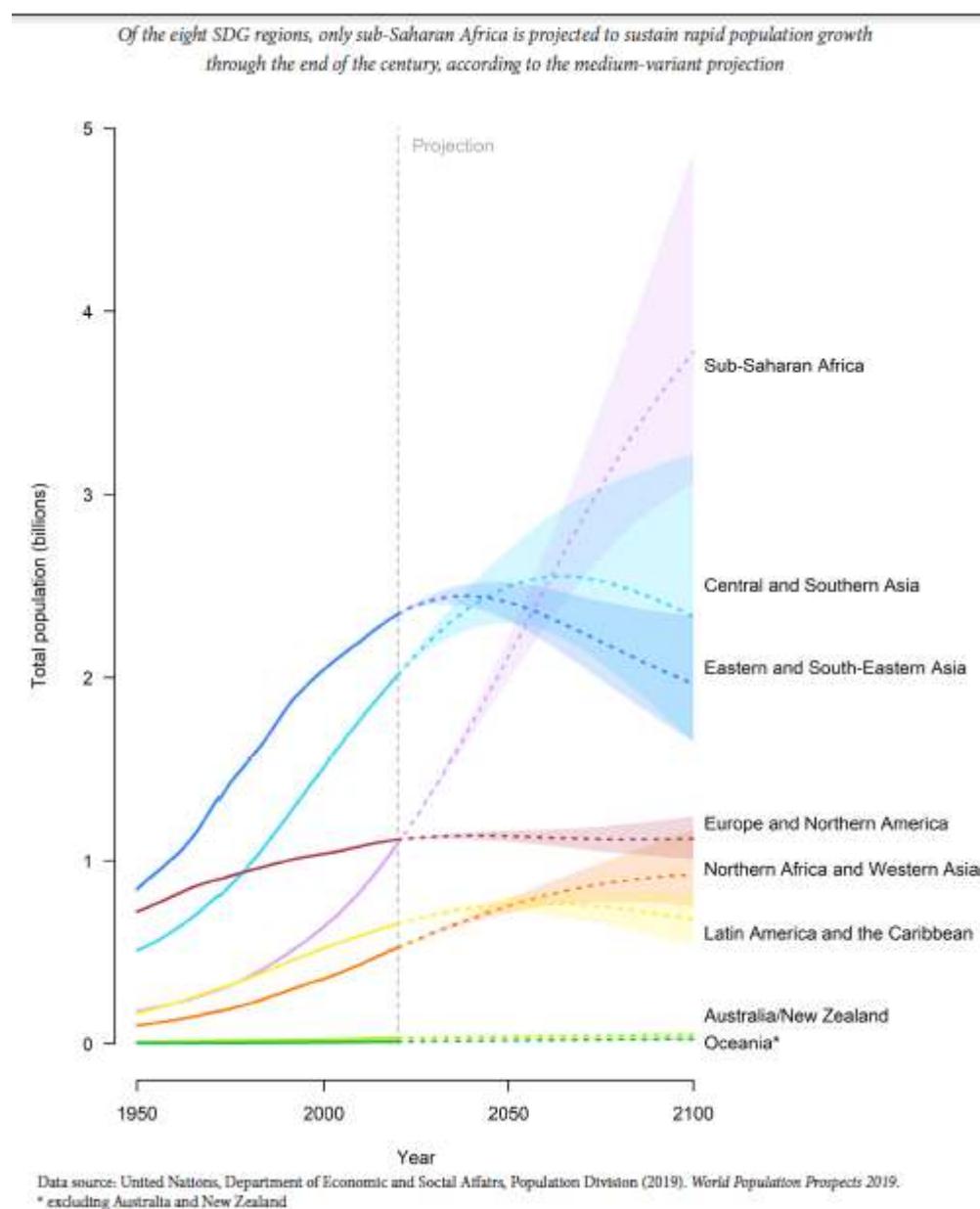
already estimated earth's carrying capacity at 10 billion although empirical data by the UN show a global fertility rate (children/woman) decline from 4.97 in 1950 to 2.47 currently and 2.18 in 2050 (UNDESA, 2019). In Togo it is to drop from 6.33 in 1950 to 2.93 in 2050. The problem is not so the world population growth but where this growth is taking place and whether it can be faced sustainably in the areas concerned. "For every person in the world to reach present U.S. levels of consumption with existing technology would require four more planet Earths" Wilson (2002:23) said. Indeed, several wealthy economies in Europe and Asia having experienced population decrease now face new ageing population problems⁶¹ (FAO, 2009; UNDESA, 2019) and a fertility deficit leading to government subsidies to increase fertility rate (Joona, 2017; Son, 2017; Hanappi and Müllbacher, 2016; Lee and Choi, 2015; Lim and Lee, 2014; Enache, 2013; Gauthier, 2013; Kalwij, 2010 ; Thevenon and Gauthier, 2011; Thevenon, 2011; Duvander et al., 2010; Gupta et al., 2008; Straughan, 2008; Del Boca et al., 2009; Björklund, 2006; Mc Donald, 2006; Milligan, 2005; Adsera, 2004; Castles, 2003; Dunn, 2003; Walker, 1995; Cigno, 1991).



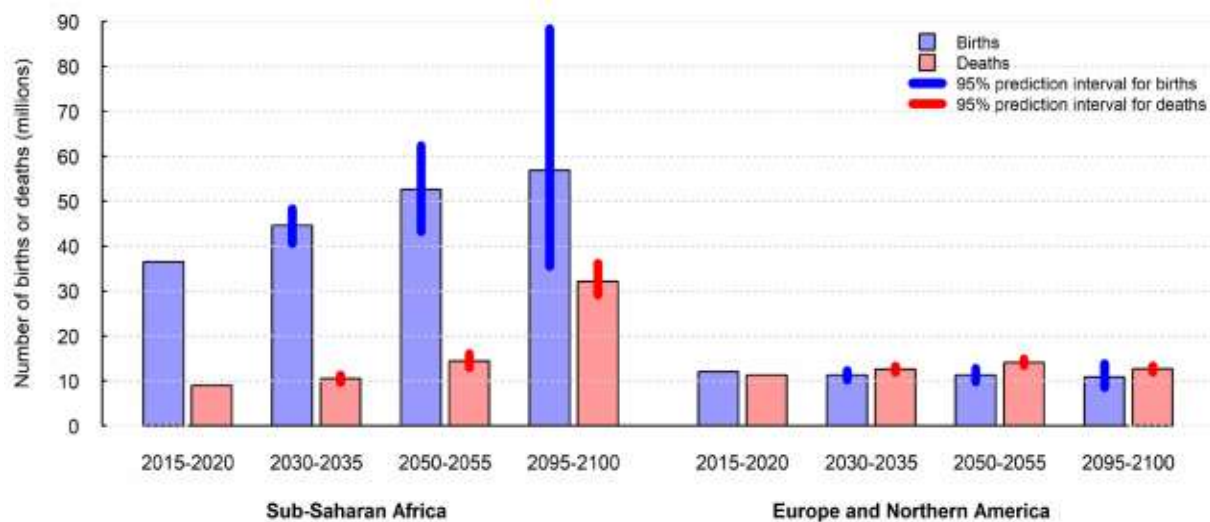
Source: UNDESA (2019)

⁶¹ In 2018, for the first time in history, persons aged 65 years or over worldwide outnumbered children under age five. Projections indicate that by 2050 there will be more than twice as many persons above 65 as children under five. By 2050, the number of persons aged 65 years or over globally will also surpass the number of adolescents and youth aged 15 to 24 years (ibid.).

Fertility is globally decreasing, however SSA countries will account for most of the growth of the world's population over the coming decades⁶² because even if fertility rate declined to 2 children/woman, the large population of children and youth in such countries will reach reproductive age over the next few decades and begin to have children of their own (UNDESA, 2019).



⁶² Of the additional 2.0 billion people who may be added to the global population between 2019 and 2050, 1.05 billion (52 per cent) could be added in countries of sub-Saharan Africa. Another 25 per cent of global population growth is expected to be concentrated in Central and Southern Asia, which is projected to add 505 million people between 2019 and 2050. Sub-Saharan Africa is projected to become the most populous of the eight geographic regions² (hereafter “regions” or “SDG regions”) around 2062, surpassing both Eastern and South-Eastern Asia and Central and Southern Asia in size. While population growth in Northern Africa and Western Asia has been slower than in sub-Saharan Africa over recent decades, the region is also projected to continue to grow through the end of this century, adding 237 million people between 2019 and 2050 and another 170 million people between 2050 and 2100 (ibid.).



Source: UNDESA (2019)

Prior to Malthus, population size was not seen as remarkable, and there was little concern about overpopulation⁶³. In his 'road to survival' Vogt (1948) reinstated Malthus's concern: "it is obvious that fifty years hence the world cannot support 3,000 million people at any cost. Unless we take steps...we may as well give up all hope of continuing civilized life. Like garden swine, we shall rush down a war-torn slope to a barbarian existence in the blackened rubble" (Vogt in Thoday, 1969). The population was estimated to be around 2250 million people at the time these thoughts were recorded (USCB, 2013). From an economic standpoint, Ricardo (1815) contextualized Malthus's view through his 'law of diminishing return' which supports that population increase causes the average output per man to fall, resulting in reduction in wages and poor living standards (King, 1969). Similarly, Confucius (551-478 BC) among other Chinese thinkers advanced the idea that: "Excessive growth may reduce output per worker, repress levels of living for the masses and engender strife" (Neurath, 1994). Thus, for Ricardo, a larger population is not necessarily synonymous with progress as the cornucopian framework holds. An emerging feature of population is price volatility and environmental issues. These have come as something of a wake-up call for governments in recent years. Indeed, governments have

⁶³ Darwin (1967[1838]:162) noted "population is increased at geometrical ratio in a far shorter time than 25 years — yet until that one sentence from Malthus no one clearly perceived the great check amongst men."

been focusing on food aids and fertility control as the solution to hunger problem. The resurgence of the debate on overpopulation in academia, and public agency revived the anti-natalism discussions in social economics and population policy. Malthus advanced that because earth is non-extendable and has a finite human carrying capacity, coercive birth regulation was necessary to limit population growth⁶⁴.

Mill (1848) partially agrees⁶⁵ and suggested that space on earth was not the issue, but rather the adequacy of space to fully develop the intellectual capacity needed to improve human lives and attenuate poverty. The biologist-entomologist Ehrlich (1968) even announced an imminent collapse of humanity during the 1970s and 1980s as population growth was a time bomb.

Malthusians find procreation limitation more reliable/sustainable than mass food production since supply issues have dovetailed with technological advances in healthcare. An alternative Malthusian perspective is that industrialization is in itself the population bomb Ehrlich announced. That is, the way food/goods are produced (carbon emission), processed food standardization, wasteful behaviors or automatization of labor all make earth space less productive and livable. Negative effects from the Anthropocene⁶⁶ or environmental ethics perspective include climate change, soil depletion, biodiversity destruction through monocultures (Shiva, 1991), or violence born from youth unemployment.

However, inequalities in resources distribution and wasteful conducts in rich nations make the argument of earth' exhaustibility (although non-expandable) questionable, shifting the food security debate from population problems to Earth resources

⁶⁴ "I see no way by which man can escape from the weight of this law which pervades all animated nature. No fancied equality, no agrarian regulations in their utmost extent, could remove the pressure of it even for a single century." (Malthus 2012[1798]:6)

⁶⁵ A large population, according to Mill (2004 [1848]: 191) is less likely to be inclined towards wellbeing, mental, cultural, moral and social progress.

⁶⁶ Anthropocene is the name of the epoch marked by significant human impacts of earth' ecosystem including social transformations (Ellis, 2018; Waters and al., 2016; Castree, 2015; Edwards, 2015).

management⁶⁷. Cornucopian theory argues that people, as assets, stimulate food productivity and economic wealth.

“The most important benefit of population size and growth is the increase it brings to the stock of useful knowledge. Minds matter economically as much as, or more than, hands or mouths. Progress is limited largely by the availability of trained workers. The more people who enter our population by birth or immigration, the faster will be the rate of progress of our material and cultural civilization.” (Simon, 1996)

Cornucopians have argued that Malthus had not foreseen the breadth of either the industrial or the agriculture revolutions that contributed to mass food production. These include broad demographic shifts from agricultural to industrial society, improved living standards, etc. Ibn Khaldun (1958[1377]) wrote: “All the additional labor serves luxury and wealth, in contrast to the original labor that served the necessity of life.” For Boserup (1965), economic growth occurred under population-growth pressure. She successfully linked economic development to demographics using variables such as land, labor and capital. Such variables were based on social contexts involving history, ethnography and cultural evolution.

Besides, humanity often seeks ways to emancipate from earth’s limitations. Channels of food consumption and the alternative foods are being studied (BBC News, 2016; Sifferlin, 2016). Where fertility rate is high, people adapt to difficulties by transforming problems into new assets. Simon (1996:319) argues: “it is this amazing decrease in the death rate that is the cause of there being a larger world population nowadays than in former times...The increase in the world's population represents our victory against death, our advancing march toward life being ended mainly by the diseases of old age.” Harrington (1737[1656]:300) wrote: “The more mouths there be in a city, the more meat of necessity must be vented by the country, and so there will be more corn, more cattle, and better

⁶⁷ In 2014, population was about 970 million in SSA, 354 million in North America and 1.27 billion for OECD members (World Bank, 2019). The CO₂ emission per capita was 0.85 mt/capita for SSA, 16.4mt/capita for North America and 9.6mt/capita for OECD members of CO₂ (ibid.).

markets; which breeding more labourers, more husbandmen, and richer farmers, bring the country so far from a commonwealth of cottagers” That is, necessities are the lifeblood of innovation and development. In light of this rationale, it seems yet incoherent /illogical that the large and poorest populations in SSA have not been able to make more technological advances to tackle food their supply concerns. Djurfeldt et al. (2008) reported that: “Yields and areas cultivated have in fact increased in SSA but aggregate food production has so far failed to keep pace with population growth.” As outcomes of population growth and scarcity, neither the industrial revolution nor the green revolution was universally profitable.

2.3.2 The green revolution and population problem

The Green Revolution⁶⁸ boosted agricultural productivity in Mexico or Asia through mechanized agriculture, selective plant breeding, fertilizers/pesticides, agricultural research and infrastructural development (Mishra, 2018). It was initiated by the introduction of disease-resistant and high-yield crops (e.g. rice in India) by agricultural developer Norman Borlaugh supported by the Rockefeller and Ford foundations (Houze, 2016:17). The Green Revolution’s failures have been largely attributed to corruption concerning how institutions distribute/use provided funds, technologies and techniques (Butler, 2014; Robin, 2010). Nevertheless it was a victory against hunger problems in face of human overpopulation⁶⁹. It contradicted the predictions in Ehrlich’s 1967 claim that the battle to feed all humanity is over or that India couldn't possibly feed two hundred million more people by 1980 (Murray, 2008, Ehrlich, 1967). “In the 1970s and 1980s,

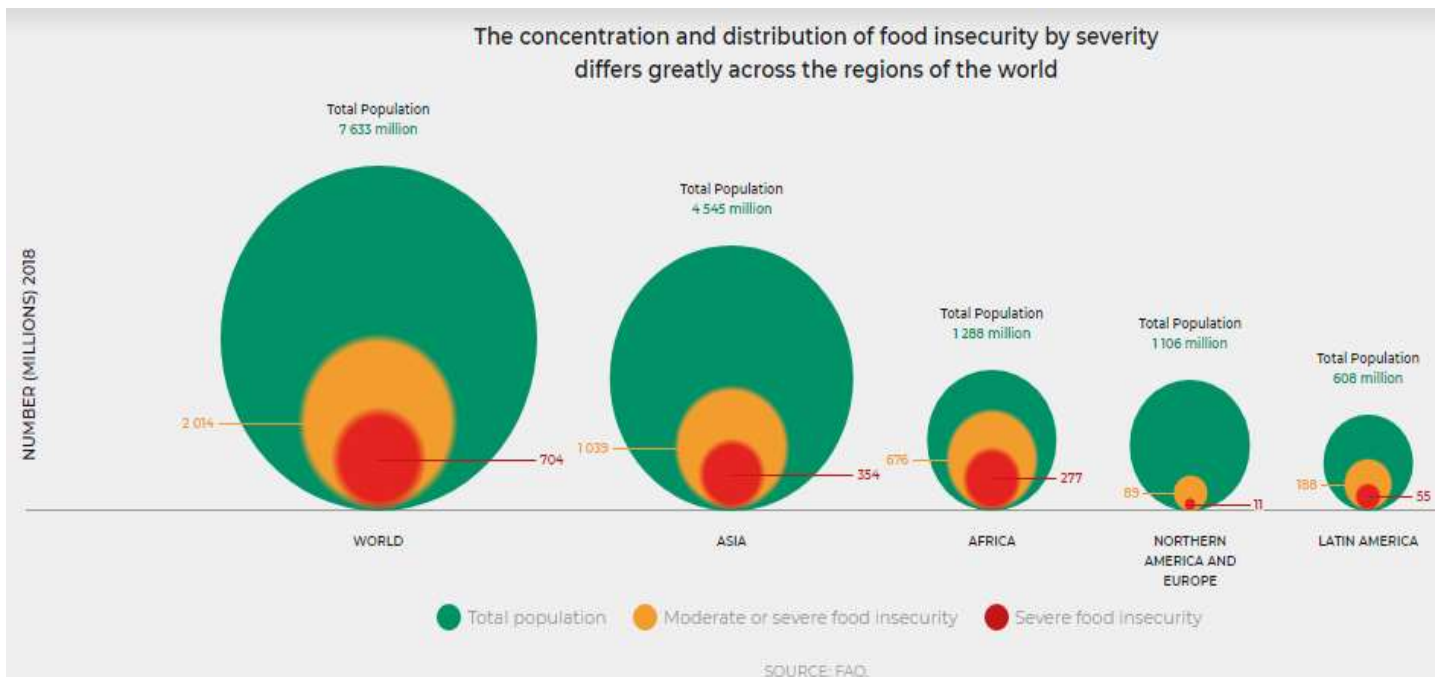
⁶⁸ The term "Green Revolution" was first used by the head of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), William S. Gaud: "These and other developments in the field of agriculture contain the making of a new revolution. It is not a violent Red Revolution like that of the Soviets, nor is it a White Revolution like that of the Shah of Iran. I call it the Green Revolution." (Gaud, 1968)

⁶⁹ “When is an area overpopulated? When its population cannot be maintained without rapidly depleting non-renewable resources [39] (or converting renewable resources into non-renewable ones) and without decreasing the capacity of the environment to support the population. In short, if the long-term carrying capacity of an area is clearly being degraded by its current human occupants, that area is overpopulated.” (Ehrlich and Ehrlich, 1990)

hundreds of millions of people will starve to death in spite of any crash programs embarked upon now...I have yet to meet anyone familiar with the situation who thinks that India will be self-sufficient in food by 1971” (ibid.).

In 1984, US president Ronald Reagan was the first US presidents to claim that the importance of human population size had been overestimated (Butler, 2016:125, 2004). Population growth nevertheless is back in the topic of food security as the green revolution is increasingly seen as unsustainable and inefficient in certain contexts (Robin, 2010; Shiva, 1991, 1997). Indeed in his 1970 Nobel Prize acceptance speech Borlaug (1970) known as father of the Green revolution warned that the sustainability of the revolution was contingent upon an intelligent management of population size: “The green revolution has won a temporary success in man’s war against hunger and deprivation; it has given man a breathing space. If fully implemented, the revolution can provide sufficient food for sustenance during the next three decades. But the frightening power of human reproduction must also be curbed; otherwise the successes of the Green Revolution will be ephemeral only.” Several environmentalists and economists have advanced that the green revolution only went so far as treated a symptom⁷⁰ and that its failure in various regions was a matter of poor governance that failed to connect locals with their institutions (van der Leeuw, 2019; Huesemann and Huesemann, 2011) Vucetich and Nelson, 2010; Wilson, 2002, Mcneill, 2000). Projections suggest that feeding a population of 9.1billion people in 2050 would require raising overall food production by 70% between 2005/7 and 2050 with a doubling of the production in developing countries (FAO, 2009). It is further forecasted that food production increases alone would not be sufficient to ensure food security for everyone unless governments make sure access to food by the needy and vulnerable is significantly improved (ibid.).

⁷⁰ “Widespread starvation was avoided because of the Green Revolution during the same forty-year period boosted per hectare yield dramatically with new varieties of rice and other crops better pesticide application, and increased fertilizer and irrigation...By 1996 the world grain carryover stocks, humanities emergency food supply, had declined 50 percent from the all-time peak reached in 1987” (Wilson, 2002:310 in Thomas, 2018)



Source : FAO (2020)

2.3.3 Population size and welfare interplays

Both Liberalists and interventionists, in spite of their ideological conflicts over the role of government agree that supreme justice must integrate the idea of freedom and equity among citizens to ensure progress. Overall, the question remains: “does population growth cause a state to be successful home and abroad? Or is it the other way around – that is, does a state that is successful (for whatever deep social or cultural reason) merely experience population growth as a dimension of that success?” Jackson and Howe (2008:27).

On one hand, Malthus, Bastiat, Say, Mill, Spencer, Marshall, George Sidney and Webb or Ehrlich (Meadow, 1972), the 1972 club of Rome carry a note of caution. On the other hand, Cornucopians or pronatalists as demographer Charles (1934) designating under-population as the real menace and those perceiving population decline as a symptom of civilization exhaustion (Spengler, 1922 and Sorokin, 1937; Jackson and Howe, 2008). How does one measure high fertility rates implications when facing at one end of the population spectrum overpopulation issues and on the other detrimental brain-drain⁷¹? What are the motivations behind large families? These questions suggest the role and power of social norms in high fertility rates.

For Boserup (1965) technological advances are the result of needs also linked to population pressure. However she insisted on another compulsory catalyst: a political environment that supports intellectual revolution and freedom present enough to retain ‘brains’. An example could be the success of the green revolution in Asia as opposed to Africa⁷².

⁷¹ Chopra and Darnton-Hill (2006) stated that: “One important outcome of globalization is the increased brain drain of African health workers that is further undermining the health system... Many African countries are being left with less than 500 doctors each, as health-care staffs are recruited by affluent countries that find it easier and cheaper to recruit from abroad than to train to their own citizens. Ghana, with a population of 20 million, has only 1500 doctors, and more than two-thirds of young Ghanaian doctors leave the country within three years of graduation. In Mozambique, a nation of similar size there are just 500 doctors.”

⁷² Today the rapid population growth and demographic pressure make it harder for all to have adequate access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food. The praise of the peaceful coexistence of tradition and modernity in many Asian countries to the point that tradition and modernity have become complementary raise interrogations.

Indeed, some critics suggest that population issues have been exaggerated and are but one dimension of a multifaceted problem. They questioned the relevance of population size in terms of economic welfare, while arguing that overpopulation was simply a distraction from economic matters.

Keynes (1920:10) reflected as follows: “to lay the illusions which grew popular at that age's latter end, Malthus disclosed a devil. For half a century all serious economical writings held that devil in clear prospect. For the next half-century he was chained up and out of sight. Now perhaps we have loosed him again”.

Bassett and Winter-Nelson (2010:75) emphasized that although population growth can place pressure on resources, it often draws attention away from many factors that governments can influence to enable their entire population to have equal access to resources like land and water⁷³. They also emphasized how politics and technology interact with available resources to determine hunger outcomes⁷⁴. As such, before assessing how population growth explains hunger in specific national settings, one must first ask what resources, such as land, water and education might be placed under pressure from population growth (op. cit.). Furthermore, in spite of famines and chronic hunger, the records seem to refute Malthusian views, because food production per person has been increasing over the last 60 years (FAO-stat, 2016) with a fall between 2006 and 2010 due to the food crisis. Bassett and Winter-Nelson (2010) added that the most dramatic increases were witnessed in Asia and Latin America, and if food production per capita fell in Africa during the 1970 and early 1980s, it has been on an upward trend ever since⁷⁵. Bassett and

⁷³ It is important to ask how many people seek a share of some resources. It is equally important to ask how that resource is being shared, and what is being done to increase its supply or its productivity. How the food problem is framed is critical to how it is analyzed

⁷⁴ “A rising population will not produce famine if new technologies allow food production or incomes to rise in pace with population. By the same token, increasing food production per capita may not reduce hunger if food and incomes are distributed unequally. Because both investment in new technology and the distribution of income are affected by policy, there is nothing inevitable in the relationship between population and hunger” (Bassett and Nelson, *ibid.*).

⁷⁵ “Since 1990, the region with the most pronounced decline in food production per capita is Europe, where famine is not an issue and obesity is a more serious nutritional problem than hunger” (Bassett and Winter-Nelson, 2010).

Winter-Nelson (ibid.) recognize the existence of a trends based on the correlation between high population growth and high rates of hunger vulnerability as shown in FAO statistical maps, but these, they say, are not representative of reality in every case. That is because the widely dispersed/scattered points on the diagrams demonstrate many exceptions to the pattern linking hunger and population growth (ibid.). In a former timeframe, Aristotle distinguished qualitative and quantitative populations:

Most persons think that a state in order to be happy ought to be large; but even if they are right, they have no idea what is a large and what is a small state. For they judge of the size of the city by the number of the inhabitants, whereas they ought to regard, not their number, but their power...for a great city is not the same as a populous one. (Aristotle, 1982: book vii 2104)

Thus, if quality is what matters, then conditions that create a qualitative human capital must exist. For Simon (1996:319) a decline in death rates “is caused by a decline in disease interrelated with an improvement in nutrition.” Through nutrition, society can limit its healthcare costs and can increase its productivity. The conditional aspect of Cornucopian arguments is pertinent in domestic policy formulation due to cultural considerations associated with individual liberty, fair resource distribution and healthy nutrition. Their common outcome is the enhancement of the physical and mental wellbeing necessary to engage citizen into achieving agricultural productivity and efficient resource management

2.3.4 Fertility and demographic transition theories: family size and poverty

Reid’s household economics, Easterlin hypothesis or Becker’s fertility theory highlight how economic development and income are as determinant in fertility decisions such as the number of children, their quality (as commodity goods), or age at which people decide to have children (Macunovich, 1998; Forget, 1996; Easterlin, 1980, 1975; Mincer, 1963; Kingsley and Blake, 1956, Reid, 1934). If higher income once led to more children, the decrease in birth of higher income families (Ermisch, 1988) is increasingly observable but

cannot be generalized⁷⁶ (Ronsen, 2004). Normative variants must be taken into account (Li, 2019; Schaffnit and Sears, 2014; Dommermuth et al., 2014; Murphy and Micael, 2013; Sato, 2006; Bloom et al., 2009; Hayford and Morgan, 2008; Bollen et al., 2007; Karim, 2004; Caldwell, 1977; Leibenstein and Pitchford, 1976; Burch, 1975; Stokes, 1973). This thesis holds that fertility variations are often too complex to be framed with linear economic perspectives. Increasingly, fertility is treated on a socio-economic ground. These include intentionality, household size from which people are from, gender of decision-maker, family support, wealth, women's profession, residence, education, age, social/ community norms, etc. The assessment of fertility theories within country-specific context are therefore necessary to effectively guide policy (Lesthaeghe, and Surkyn, 1988; Burch, 1975). Lappé and Schurman (1988) equated family size to social class on the ground that the powerlessness of the poor only leaves them the option of a large family. Families are therefore a consequence of the condition of poverty because income can increase with child labor and births ensure social security for the elder. Children through labor are often considered the sole future assets of the poor (Shultz, 1990). Basset and Winter-Nelson (2010) explained that poor people who are excluded from many opportunities may perceive children as a potential source of income and security when old. Thus, children are the only real and sound investment the poor can afford. This was also Mill's opinion, who, despite his suspicions about state intervention advocated for providing assistance to the poor to eliminate a large family as the ultimate solution to their condition. For Malthus, the poor give free rein to their impulses and justifies this with the illusion that children will add to the family's wellbeing whereas it is the opposite⁷⁷ (Malthus, 20012[1798]:10-11).

⁷⁶ "The Nordic countries are sometimes in focus in this respect, as their fertility rates remain relatively high in spite of very high female labour force participation.(Ronsen, 2004)

⁷⁷ "A virtuous attachment is so strong that there is a constant effort towards an increase of population. This constant effort as constantly tends to subject the lower classes of the society to distress and to prevent any great permanent amelioration of their condition...The constant effort towards population which is found to act even in the most vicious societies, increases the number of people before the means of subsistence are increased" (Malthus, 20012[1798]:10-11)

Thus, Malthus suggests that the poor with a large family and who has never tasted luxury will see no point in acquiring objects that have no basic necessity because “with a small family he may be better lodged and clothed, and better able to command the decencies and comforts of life” (ibid.189). Malthus (1992 [1806-1826]:281) believed that that individual accountability wakens cleverness in the poor and decreases his dependency on social assistance while appeasing the frustrations of those who restrain themselves responsibly⁷⁸. Thus the poor need to be emancipated through the establishment of a free labor market and must all be accountable for their actions/conditions (ibid.189-190). Responsibility guides entrepreneurship, and once luxury has been experienced, the struggle to safeguard high living standards including limiting births is triggered (ibid. 321). This resembles the idea of a demographic transition⁷⁹ in which economic progress eventually results in lower birth rates.

It was argued that Malthus failed to consider demographic transition theory’s impact in the shift of family trends. In fact Malthus emphasized that the non-event of demographic transition in certain milieus and the continued assistance of the poor was conducive to overpopulation and worsens scarcity⁸⁰. The demographic transition theory was advanced by Warren Thompson (1929, 959:975) and broadly used later in social science and positivistic studies. Such research sought to categorize the world into three groups: Group A includes northern and western Europe and the United States and these have experienced rapidly declining birth-rates. Despite the low death-rates in these nations, such rates continue to decline and are approaching a plateau because of the general

⁷⁸ Malthus (1992 [1806-1826]:281) declared: “if our benevolence be indiscriminate, and the degree of apparent distress be made the sole measure of our liberality, it is evident that it will be exercised almost exclusively upon common beggars, while modest unobtrusive merit, struggling with unavoidable difficulties, yet still maintaining some slight appearances of decency and cleanliness will be totally neglected.”

⁷⁹ The theory provided the generic assumption that “the cause of fertility decline was the movement of individuals from traditional, and usually rural or small-town societies, in which social ranking was by ascription, to industrial cities where achievement was all that matters” (Caldwell et al., 2006:307:308).

⁸⁰ Malthus (2012[1798]:6) was a pessimist when it came to people’s capability to responsibly regulate their sexual needs⁸⁰ without coercive action or the motivation of the rich to carry on with high living standards.

practice of conception control. Group B includes Spain, Italy and the Slavic people of central Europe. The birth-rates in these countries are coming under control slowly. Their death-rates are declining faster than their birth-rates. Group C encompasses the rest of the world and represent about 70-75% of the global population (Weeks, 2015[1978]:82). Birth and death-rates in these countries are barely controlled and population growth is left to positive checks⁸¹. The impacts of high mortality in “Group C” nations, and low fertility rates in “group A” nations tend to mask world population pressure concerns (Weeks, *ibid.*). Thompson’s theory however gained notoriety in the social sciences sphere and were latter substantiated by Princeton university demographers Notestein (1943, 1945) and Davis and Kirk (1945). This quantitative perspective left many questions unanswered in terms of the number of entrants participating in demographic transition. The varying extent of the success of the green revolution in different regions of the world provides tangible proof of the necessity to look at intangibles. States of mind and, much more broadly, culture plays a significant role. Overall, the salient factors behind the phenomenon of large families in poor households are diverse. Opposing views are verifiable in diverse milieus and, as social norms play a significant role.

2.3.4.1 Family system theory: Angles of analysis of family

The economic structures of family (monogamous, polygamous, large/small, extended, mononuclear, adultery, prostitution, etc.) as Engels and Marx (2017[1867]) suggested, are the products of social class systems⁸². According to neoclassical theorists, family members have a function determined by their utility to the family which incorporate classical

⁸¹ The control of population size but natural occurrences as death from illness or aging.

⁸² Engel wrote: “Thus when monogamous marriage first makes its appearance in history, it is not as the reconciliation of man and woman, still less as the highest form of such a reconciliation. Quite the contrary. Monogamous marriage comes on the scene as the subjugation of the one sex by the other; it announces a struggle between the sexes unknown throughout the whole previous prehistoric period. In an old unpublished manuscript, written by Marx and myself in 1846, [The reference here is to the German Ideology, published after Engels’ death – Ed.] I find the words: “The first division of labor is that between man and woman for the propagation of children.”(Marx and Engels, 1973[1884]:22-23)

theorists' division of labor ⁸³ (Blau et al.2010; Becker, 1981, Bergmann, 1981). Indeed, in family studies, family member roles reflect the family identity (Stryker and Burke, 2000; Biddle, 1986). Other scientists focus on family as a living organism and multigenerational emotional system (Turner and Stets, 2009; Scheff, 1999; Kerr and Bowen, 1988, Goffman, 1956). As such, beyond genealogy, family involves emotional liens and interactions that rationalize its overall structure/function.

Symbolic interaction theory popularized by pragmatists as Mead, Dewey, James, or Peirce have provided a framework to interpret family structures and interactions. However there has been debate over whether symbols reach a meaning by consensus (Turner, 1980) or environmental characteristics (Stryker, 1980). Collins (2004) argues that all social action is local and situational as suggested by dramaturgical sociology. It is because emotional energy (Goffman, 2007[1956]) and interactions are contained in 'Interaction ritual chains'. This context-oriented and interactionist perspective is the one most family theorists including general system protagonists agree on (Peterson and Bush, 2013:24).

In fact the general systems approach of the type proposed by Von Bertalanffy (1937) examines how the components of a system interact with one another to form a whole. General systems theory integrates action theory which highlights microscopic/ macroscopic motives of societal interactions (Parsons, 1951:15) and social systems theory which emphasizes interaction over environmental factors (Luhmann, 1982) or system dynamics approach that focuses on understanding causal (incentive-driven) rather consequential interactions in non-linearity of complex systems (Forrester, 1971) .

As such, when it comes to certain issues, societies can be assimilated to a biological organism that is a sum/interaction or synergy of interrelated/interdependent parts. However, the nature of the sum is contingent upon context as opposed to the

⁸³ A man must always live by his work, and his wages must at least be sufficient to maintain him. They must even upon most occasions be somewhat more; otherwise it would be impossible for him to bring up a family, and the race of such workmen could not last beyond the first generation (Smith, 2010 [1776]:45).

understanding of a species' organism in natural sciences. General systems theory emphasizes interactions, and more precisely an interest in contextual intersubjective realities. Such patterns can help explain the interactive complexities guiding certain actions in a given family system⁸⁴ as suggested by Forrester (1971).

Similarly, from a Durkheimian standpoint⁸⁵, too often we look at what a family generally is or is expected to be in society, and not at the family's individual rules. The norm/collective consciousness, identified by an outsider, is a set of rules, symbols and codes which profound meaning can only be revealed by locals. Dewey (2008[1930]:120) writes: "Harmony with conditions is not a single and monotonous uniformity, but a diversified affair requiring individual attack." Mead's research works (1961, 2003) suggest that family cultural patterns are as numerous as family configurations (e.g. member roles) even within one community.

In the foreword to *Coming of Age in Samoa*, written by Mead, Franz Boas, her advisor, wrote: "Courtesy, modesty, good manners, conformity to definite ethical standards are universal, but what constitutes courtesy, modesty, good manners, and definite ethical standards is not universal. It is instructive to know that standards differ in the most unexpected ways" (Mead, 2003). A non-system approach would therefore be to look at (not every family as there is no interest or capacity to dissect family cultures in Togo) but family norm/norms in the society. It is essential therefore to understand at least family norms in society/communities since it is too complex to access the meanings each family ascribes to these. Researchers have long recognized that family size norms play a role in fertility desires and attainment (Kohler, 2001 in Heiland et al, 2008; Rindfuss et al., 1988;

⁸⁴ "A multi-loop" nonlinear feedback systems" (Forrester, 1971: 110). Forrester (ibid.) alerted on how multi-loop linear systems mislead intuition and judgement have been formed to expect behavior different from that actually possessed by such systems. "At times programs cause exactly the reverse of desired results. ... There are fundamental reasons why people misjudge the behavior of social systems. There are orderly processes at work that frequently lead people to wrong decisions when faced with complex and highly interacting systems. Until we come to a much better understanding of social systems, we should expect that attempts to develop corrective programs will continue to disappoint us." (ibid.)

⁸⁵ Durkheim (2014[1895]:21) suggested collective consciousness is the "manner of acting, thinking, and feeling external to the individual... invested with a coercive power by virtue of which they exercise control over him."

Preston, 1987; Caldwell, 1982; Gustavus and Nam, 1970; Blake, 1966; Freedman et al., 1959). Religious factors and traditional codes also explain high fertility rates which, in many cases are often binding.

As several aetiologies may surface in the pursuit of contextual and historical meaning, a rigorous pre-selection in terms of the sample population is necessary to determine more precisely which family and fertility theories are relevant especially with regards to family size and food security interplay.

2.3.4.2 Managing procreation and food needs: Malthus and Mill

“I think I may fairly make two postulata. First, that food is necessary to the existence of man. Secondly, that the passion between sexes is necessary and will remain nearly in its present state... Assuming then my postulata as granted I say that the power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man”. (Malthus, 2012[1798]:4)

Malthus (2012[1798]:4-6) acknowledged the universality of both eating and procreation. However he argues that as populations, when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio whereas subsistence increases only in an arithmetical ratio, the two unequal powers must be kept equal through population checks (ibid). If preventive actions grounded in moral restraint (i.e. abstinence or celibacy) were not balanced population sizes and food supply, humanity is arguably condemned⁸⁶. Malthus’s poverty and food scarcity reduction strategy was for institutions to bind individuals through coercive laws for national welfare⁸⁷. Later, this was even condoned on certain liberal principles as some argued that regulatory contraception policies actually increase autonomy and wellbeing of individuals (Bognar,

⁸⁶ “The vices of mankind are active and able ministers of depopulation” (ibid.49).

⁸⁷ Malthus (1817:95) quoted Abbé Raynal (1795: vol2 liv3 p3 10vol) in speaking of the ancient state of the British Isles, and of the islanders in general: “It is among these people that we trace the origin of that multitude of singular institutions which retard the progress of population. Anthropology, the castration of males, the infibulation of females, late marriages, the conservation of virginity, the approbation of celibacy, and the punishments exercised against girls who become mothers at too early an age”.

2019). The ecclesiastic Malthus was rather inclined to moral restraint, including celibacy and abstinence⁸⁸, until adequate finances were raised to support marriage as the utilitarian Mill, advocated on the other hand for birth control, especially amongst the working classes. Malthus (1992 [1803-1826]:225) claimed: “I do not see how it is possible for any person, who acknowledges the principles of utility as the great foundation of moral rules, to escape the conclusion that moral restraint, or the abstaining from marriage till we are in condition to support a family, with a perfectly moral conduct during that, is the strict line of duty; and when revelation is taken into question, this duty undoubtedly receives very powerful confirmation.” If the “passion between sexes” is natural and abstinence is not, to argue that the absence of the means to control births disengages the poor is to make their living conditions worse. “It is evident, therefore, that the best actor of benevolence, like the impulses of love, of anger, of ambition, the desire of eating and drinking, or any other of our natural propensities, must be regulated by experience, and frequently brought to the test of utility, or it will defeat its intended purpose.” (Malthus, 1992[1798]: 280). In opposing Malthus’s moral aversion for contraceptive methods and pleas for procreation, Mill (2004 [1848]) argued that because procreation in miserable conditions was likely to end in worse conditions, large population problems, this problem could only be solved through the prior fixing of poverty evils. Yet, Mill (2004 [1848]) endorses Malthus in ‘Principles of political economy’⁸⁹, by approving societies that delay marriage and limit population growth in their customs and laws, and criticizing views that encouraged unrestrained procreation (ibid.). First, his approach does not refute Malthus’ but advocates for a contextual understanding. Second, Mill defends the empowerment of

⁸⁸ A section titled “principle of population” in Thomas Love Peacock’s satirical novel *Melincourt* appeared in 1817. It introduced Mr. Fax, a literary personification of Malthus. Demonizing procreation, Fax praises celibacy and abstinence: “Bachelors and spinsters I decidedly venerate. The world is overstocked with featherless bipeds. More men than corn is fearful pre-eminence, the sole and fruitful cause of penury, disease, and war, plague, pestilence, and famine...And what is with love? A double-blossomed cherry, flowers without fruit; if the blossom last a month, it is as much as can be expected: they fall, and what comes in their place? Vanity and vexation of spirit. Better vexation than stagnation: marriage may often be as stormy lake, but celibacy is almost always a muddy horse pond.”

⁸⁹ Population growth was a frequent topic in many parts of the book (Book I Ch. x and xiii; Book II, Ch. vii; Book IV, Ch. vi.).

people to make informed decisions for themselves⁹⁰. Third, , Mill focuses on what is humanly and reasonably possible for humanity, because restricting the natural could only nurture frustrations, drifts and foster new ills⁹¹.

Nathanson (2004) underlines Mill's point: "if population growth is something that can be brought under human control, then humanity is not doomed to circumstances in which the number of mouths to feed exceeds the amount of food that can be produced." However, since birth control does stop earth resources from being exhaustible, intellectual progress is however necessary and requires the existence of a skilled people to confront difficulties. That is, people are a national wealth given that they are skilled and that through their skills they create value for humanity. Mill's implication and theory in relation to population growth and the role of the state have practical application. Hence, for Mill, empowering people with contraceptive methods toward voluntary reduction of children (family planning) is salutary. Optimistically, Mill (1849-1873:45) wrote in a letter to Edward Herford that even if emigration was successful in putting an end to indigence, it "would do no more than push off to another generation the necessity of adopting a sounder morality, even if it were not necessary to prevent the evils of poverty, would equally be requisite in order to put an end to the slavery to which the existing state of things condemns women." In this sense, Mill's advocacy for empowering populations and establishing equal access to education and resources makes sense.

⁹⁰ For Mill artificial birth-control was preferable to 'moral restraint: "facts regarding birth control should be communicated to married couples by their medical advisers" (Packe, 1954:56-59; Mill et al., 1991 [1867]182-183).

⁹¹ Mill was arrested for distributing a pamphlet addressed to "married people" about birth control methods (Wood, 1991:44; O'Rourke, 2001:169). The pamphlet was written by Francis Place, one of his father's acquaintances who advocated for birth-control and explained the use of the "sponge" according to (Guillin, 2009). Then, coming across the body of a strangled newborn child provided sinister proof of the soundness of Malthus' views which he discovered while studying economics with his father, James Mill. He discussed these issues with several of James Mill's intellectual companions such as Bentham and Ricardo. Since the families of workers tended to increase in number in order to maximize their income through child labor, the growth of the food supply could not keep up with the unchecked growth of populations. This led to the development of terrible conditions of existence for the laboring classes, and the temptation to resort to infanticide so as to alleviate the plight of such families (Guillin, *ibid.*).

2.3.5 Trends in Sub-Saharan Africa and the weight of intent

It is usual to observe in the literature on SSA, the generalization of fertility norms as representative of the region as a whole. However, increasingly this notion is regarded with varying degrees of interest across African nations. Other literature have underscored globalization as determining factor in terms of considering these demographic and socio-economic transition factors within various national contexts (Hollinger, 2015; Takyi, 2011). Studies also report that the SSA family is under threat and undergoing significant changes as is occurring in other parts of the world (Alber, 2011; Oheneba-Sakyi and Takyi, 2006; Bradley & Weisner, 1997; Van de Walle, 1993; Lloyd and Gage-Brandon, 1993; Bledsoe 1990; Little, 1975). Transformations that have been identified include: changing structure of the family, increasing tendency towards nucleation, increased female headed households, reduced influence of extended family members on individual family behaviors and decision making, lower fertility, increased marital instability, salient divorce rates, changing gender roles within unions, changing sexual mores, and changing relationships between generations. The latter phenomenon is marked by a decline in overall kin support to family members—especially the elderly and the young (Takyi & Gyimah, 2007; Hattori and Dadoo, 2007; Oheneba-Sakyi and Takyi, 2006; Takyi, 2001; Lloyd & Gage-Brandon, 1993; Oppong, 1981). More importantly, these changes are not limited to one country. Rather, they transcend geographic boundaries and socio-cultural groupings” (ibid.). Indeed, sexual activity is natural but often serves aims other than the sole need to procreate and ensure one’s legacy/future or as a patriotic act. Communities have diverse views: Those where it is sacrilegious to divorce; others where sex education is demonized, where woman celibacy is condemned; or those that accept polygamy and extramarital relations for men. When men are the decision-maker the intent to procreate is blurry as accidental pregnancies are frequent. It is therefore important to question both Husserlian intentionality and Heideggerian historical meaning when it comes to family dynamics.

When it comes to unintended conceptions, some talk of carelessness and frivolity with the only intent to reach a selfish satisfaction. Opposing views dismiss negligence and relate births to need to increase income, norms, state assistance status, social injustice, and personal background. Some also argue that having a higher income increase birth rates while others argue that greater income does not necessarily lead to larger families (Becker and Lewis, 1973) since people are unlikely to jeopardize their comfort with a bigger family size which is the point that Malthus made. Other researchers (Astone et al., 1999; Schoen et al., 1997; Huinink, 1995; Coleman, 1988 in Heiland et al., 2008), argue that the continuing desire for children may be due to resources that become available through greater social ties and social exchange when individuals have a family. Examples include emotional, physical, or financial support from family members, other relatives and friends. Many observers believe that the increasing acceptance of non-traditional life styles such as voluntary childlessness and emphasis on personal fulfillment contribute to the decline in fertility (Van de Kaa, 2001, 1987 in Heiland et al. 2008; Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 1988). Interestingly, Huinink (2001:5), a prominent observer of fertility development in Germany, suggests that the social capital provided by children in modern societies does not serve “for skill and material oriented support anymore, but psychological and identity sustaining support.” At any rate, the reasons behind births encompass specific values and norms with different degrees of submission. Social norm theory suggests that fertility may differ across individuals subject to different norms, or with different level of resistance to social pressures. The desire to conceive evolves over a person’s lifetime as the acceptable number of fertility changes or the person’s tolerance changes. Local understandings of family dynamics and the circumstances of procreation must therefore be pursued within the local sphere. Cultural parenthood and family duties have key implications on the household size, socio-economic status and by association on food accessibility and dietary choices. The next section highlights the sovereignty of socio-cultural discourse.

2.4 Philosophical perspective: social system construct

Cultural variations refer to markers as behaviors and practices that cannot be overshadowed by empiric observations or overlooked in hypothesis. In the existing empirical literature it is difficult to tease apart cultural factors. As such, the aim of this section is to shed light on the philosophical gap in food literacies on Togo and establish the implications of theoretical assessments on the quality of data. Different analytical perspectives are explored in order to further assist the thesis, future food studies as well as policies when pursuing socially-coherent and sustainable solutions to food issues.

The qualitative ontological and epistemological positions of the thesis show through the selected philosophical frameworks. Social sciences according to Habermas (1973) are not a grimoire of abstract knowledge. They must therefore be understood in relation to the meanings of social interactions involved with our understanding of social ethical principles. Such stands also caution on rigid assertions that ignore contextual meaning, societal evolutions and actual situations. They resonate with Derrida's deconstruction theory and Deweyian pragmatism. The used theoretical frameworks call for unique, polymath and revolutionary perspectives on food challenges in Togo that involve emotional, ethical, metaphysical dimensions. These forces are discussed in terms of the relationship between individual liberty, knowledge, critique and morality. The faith in destiny, gods, and unquestionable acceptance of norms in Togo relate to Locke's position on the divine and historical legacy of values. Hobbes' theory of man submitting to a leviathan society for selfish motives are relevant for cases in which individuals acclaim harmful acts as long as this safeguards their power. Aristotle and Rousseau's political man also illustrates the contractual transaction between people and their society. In place of consent Kant and Rawls refer to submission; the former advocating reason and moral imperative as motive and the latter fairness/justice. The pragmatist conceptualisations

(Dewey, Mead and Habermas⁹²) however remain essential as the specific social psychology, values and ideals will help determine where individuals as distinct cultural entities, communities and the nation stand on a philosophical continuum. As it shows in the study area review, Togo experienced a different colonial history than its neighbours in the sub-Saharan zone. The distinctive social upshots on its social discourses are notable in its governance. Pursuing contextual meaning, the question of wellbeing was also part of the thinking process. In terms of critical thinking, Hegel's principle of self-recognition is highlighted considering that through globalisation societies and individuals more easily and increasingly contrast their conditions to others. As criticism/questioning and freedom of speech relate to age, gender, and social class in Togo, theories on commonwealth, civil liberty, individual autonomy and courage (Kant), self-preservation (Hobbes) are explored.

2.4.1 Social contract: state functionalities

2.4.1.1 *The Leviathan society*

For Hobbes (2005[1651]:96/xiii, 9) humanity, lives by the laws of its “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short” nature. Self-absorbed and self-conscious of their natural state of war, men strategically give up their right to the great Leviathan society with the expectations that if all do the same, all will be protected from one another (ibid. 95/8). Social contracts are motivated by humans' fear of their own nature once settled in a sedentary life⁹³.

⁹² “Culture remains a super-structural phenomenon, even if it does seem to play a more prominent role in the transition to new developmental levels than many Marxists have heretofore supposed.” Habermas (1979:98). Habermas (ibid143-144) acknowledges “the leading role that the economic structure assumes in social evolution” and suggests that social structures be explained through a communicative action that “follow their own logic”. He contended that “general sociological points of view certainly permit a more concrete description of a given economic structure.”(Habermas, 1996:155). Outhwaite (2015:59) explains that “such principles are embodied in moral and legal systems, grounded in socially shared views”.

⁹³ Hobbes (2005[1651]:128/xvii, 13) asserted that: “The only way to erect such a common power as may be able to defend them from the invasion of foreigners and the injuries of one another ... is to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or upon one assembly or men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices unto one will;... in such manner as if every man should say to every man I authorize and give up my right of governing myself to this man, or to this assembly or men, on this condition, that thou give up thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner.”

Society is the only God that ensures protection⁹⁴. Hobbes drew on Glaucon in book II of the Republic when, Thrasymachus questioned the importance of justice if the unjust man had a better life than the just man. Glaucon's answer was:

“They say that to do injustice is naturally good and to suffer injustice bad, but that the badness of suffering it so far exceeds the goodness of doing it that those who have done and suffered injustice and tasted both, but who lack the power to do it and avoid suffering it, decide that it is profitable to come to an agreement with each other neither to do injustice nor to suffer it. As a result, they begin to make laws and covenants, and what the law commands they call lawful and just. This, they say, is the origin and essence of justice. It is intermediate between the best and the worst. The best is to do injustice without paying the penalty; the worst is to suffer it without being able to take revenge. Justice is a mean between these two extremes. People value it not because it is a good but because they are too weak to do injustice with impunity. Someone who has the power to do this, however, and is a true man wouldn't make an agreement with anyone not to do injustice in order not to suffer it. For him that would be madness. This is the nature of justice, according to the argument, Socrates, and these are its natural origins.” (Glaucon, 2012[Rep. 358 e-359 b]:133)

In his arguments regarding the ring of Gyges, which grants invisibility to the wearer, Glaucon demonstrates that given the chance to wear the ring, both the just and the unjust man will act selfishly and without consideration of justice. Thus, to protect himself, man would be unlikely to reject any culture which primarily asks him to adopt another culture that is more favourable in terms of protection. That is, principles such as justice or patriotism are only matters of power.

Tocqueville (1835) asserted that having given up their rights, the enslaved comfort themselves through the illusion that they gave consent for their own benefit. Indeed, although the carving up of the Togolese land into five administrative regions by colonial powers was done without locals' popular consent, the new European-based governance became assimilated creating new resource-related conflicts.

Hobbes exploited the statement Glaucon in Plato's Republic (Irwin, 1995 [360c5-e7]: 184) that: “people commend the remarkably just person only because they want to discourage unjust action for fear of being its victims, they all admit that in fact unjust action is more advantageous and that someone who refrains from advantageous unjust action that he could commit with impunity is ‘most miserable and most senseless’”. Hence goodwill is non-existent, and government represents goodwill through its utility.

⁹⁴ For Hobbes (2002 [1651]:129), if God exists, the one that tempers humans' free, wild nature is not immortal but mortal, i.e. the sovereign under the immortal God, the Leviathan society.

The empiricist Locke adopts a more positive stance in relation to human nature and the divine. Locke (1722:162; 1970[1690]), in contrast to Hobbes's scepticism about the divine, noted that God made man naturally free and ready to adapt to laws or to his/her environment and "certainly appointed government to restrain the partiality and violence of men." Society is, in this sense, a divine legacy.

Literature depicts traditions in Togo as so grounded in populations⁹⁵ that the temporality of contractual terms depicted by Locke seems utopic when criticism is condemned. However the aspect of the divine which also relates to fate is revealing. The Hobbesian argument would seem legitimate if through selfish motives 'tradition custodians' can singlehandedly forge/adjust norms/traditions as to secure their position endlessly. As such, when traditional norms are undebatable, deontological ethics (Kant) then overturns teleological ethics (Bentham, Mill, Locke) at points in history.

2.4.1.2 The political society

Sovereign power according to Hobbes (2005 [1651]:129) is attained by force or consent of subjects⁹⁶. In contrast, Aristotle stipulated that virtue (happiness) was naturally humans, rational animals (NE, 1102a5-1103a11). He further notes in Politics (1253a) that human beings are political animals (Aristotle, 1997: vii-viii). That is, humans are, by nature inclined to live in political groups (Kraut and Skultety, 2005:82). They prosper by embracing their political nature in the same way as "a city established on principles of nature (kata physin) would be wise as a whole" (Republic, 428E9)". Accordingly, they act by their nature as rational and political animals. Being political is therefore innate to

⁹⁵ Culture, according to Howell (2013:118) directs actions, consists of symbols, norms, worldviews and values that outline acceptable modes of behaving and thinking in specific societies and is usually so in-built it remains covert and unrecognizable.

⁹⁶ "This latter may be called a political commonwealth or commonwealth by institution, and the former may be called a commonwealth by acquisition." The former can be perceived as verifiable in the case of the colonial Togo.

mankind. Despite conflicts, men need one another to feel complete, to have what they cannot provide for themselves.

Kant's deontologist theory (imperative obligation) implies submission⁹⁷ (not Rousseauian consent) to general will and moral and opposed teleological ethics or conditional moral obligation based on the intended end. Kant (1998 [1785]: 34-35) suggests that for men, "rational beings", the social contract is not just built on atomic Hobbesian/individualist interests. When through reason we treat others well with the expectation that they treat us well in return, reciprocity is not guaranteed.

However society/authority through rules (moral) regulates actions based on general/universal interests, not personal understandings. Morality conveys peace to individuals and community (op.cit.140). Kant (1991[1797]:46) emphasizes the neutrality of general will which prevails over individual interests⁹⁸.

Rousseau's ideals, drawing on Aristotle's works⁹⁹ are more optimistic than Hobbes's. For Rousseau (2012 [1763]), men are innately righteous but become corrupted with the products of social establishment such as property which leads to jealousy, ambition and competition¹⁰⁰. As such, social contract not only protects but also grants other advantages/pleasures¹⁰¹. Rousseau (2012 [1762]:9) explains in terms of the social contract that "...each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will; and in a body we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole". General will is not a combination of individual wills, but a new will that

⁹⁷ Kant (1991[1797]:140) writes "The act by which the people constitutes a state for itself, or more precisely, the mere idea of such an act (which alone enables us to consider it valid in terms of right), is the original contract. By this contract, all members of the people give up their external freedom in order to receive it back at once as members of a commonwealth, i.e. of the people regarded as a state."

⁹⁹ For Aristotle (NE X.8.II 79aI 7—22) "the truth, in practical matters is judged on the basis of facts and life since these are authoritative in these matters. One should examine what was said earlier by considering the facts (*erga*), and life, the extent to which claims harmonize with facts. In such cases one must accept facts, but if they are out of harmony, then one must reject one's statements." (Kraut, 2006:90).

¹⁰⁰ This line of thought is defended colonisation detractors who argue that colonialism has destroyed the principles of integrity in the aboriginal.

¹⁰¹ Weber (2010:16) illustrated Rousseau's version of the consented social contract of man as follows "when I go to the bank and withdraw funds to buy lunch, for example, I enjoy not only security (Hobbes's stand), but other benefits as well. Laws, institutions, and relationships often benefit me."

generically serves all¹⁰². Rousseau therefore links social contract to the concepts of the republic (Aristotle), reason (Kant), security (Hobbes), Comfort (Rousseau) and finally divine intervention (Rousseau and Locke). “That which is good, and in conformity with order, is such by the nature of things, independently of human convention. All justice comes from God; he alone is its source” (Rousseau, 1983[1762]:36). Hence, social architecture and organisational patterns are determined by specific scales of values, beliefs and interests. Like Hobbes, Kant (1991[1797]:137) acknowledges an opportunistic¹⁰³ nature in man, but gives to reason and ethics a primordial role in man's consent to a higher authority. That is, men are natural beings (altruist/selfish) but their nature is tamed by nurture.

2.4.1.3 Utilitarian: State of nature vs state of need

Locke faced the criticism of his empiricist peers Bentham and Hume regarding his partial adhesion to the contractarian theory. Bentham analogizes society and family and replaces the state of nature with the state of necessity based on experience (Clark and Clark, 2000:174; Halévy et al., 1995:312). That is, actions are only need-driven. Pleasure and pain encountered in nature govern man from birth. Like Bentham, Rawls believed that from birth, man is without consent subject to society¹⁰⁴ as to family.

¹⁰² "The legislative power belongs to the people, and can belong to it alone... every law the people has not ratified in person is null and void - is, in fact, not a law." (Rousseau, 2003[1762]:37-65)

¹⁰³ "War seems to be ingrained in human nature, and even to be regarded as something noble to which man is inspired by his love of honour, without selfish motives...Experience teaches us the maxim that human beings act in a violent and malevolent manner, and that they tend to fight among themselves until an external coercive legislation supervenes".(Kant, *ibid.*111)

¹⁰⁴ "In every family there is government, in every family there is subjection, and subjection of the most absolute kind: the father, sovereign, the mother and the young, subjects. According to Locke's scheme, men knew nothing at all of governments till they met together to make one. Locke has speculated so deeply, and reasoned so ingeniously, as to have forgotten that he was not of age when he came into the world...Under the authority of the father, and his assistant and prime-minister the mother, every human creature is endured to subjection, is trained up into a habit of subjection. But the habit once formed, nothing is easier than to transfer it from one object to another. Without the previous establishment of domestic government, blood only, and probably a long course of it, could have formed political government." (Bentham in Clark and Clark, 2000:174)

Painting man as a historical Locke argues that:

“the laws of nature, do bind men absolutely, even as they are men, although they have never any settled fellowship, and never any solemn agreement amongst themselves what to do or not to do; but forasmuch as we are not by ourselves sufficient to furnish ourselves with competent store of things needful for such a life as our nature doth desire ... we are naturally induced to seek communion and fellowship with others; this was the cause of men’s uniting themselves at first in politic societies...all men are naturally in that state, and remain so, till by their own consents they make themselves members of some politic society.” (Locke, 2003[1689]:106)

Bentham (2007[1789]:17) considers that some rudiments of ancient laws only remain relevant because they promote utility, not because people accept them voluntarily or by force¹⁰⁵. Thus, rules derive from individual experiences and serve the greatest number, as in practice they might not fit certain circumstances. Society involves aggregated knowledge from experience with the natural world.

Discarding the contractarian theories, Hume (2006 [1758]:366) considers government to be a useful heritage because historically governments have not fulfilled expectations at the root of the hypothetical social contract:

“Where consent may seem to have taken place, it was commonly so irregular, so confined, or so much intermixed either with fraud or violence, that it cannot have any great authority...I only contend, that it has very seldom had place in any degree, and never almost in its full extent.” He sees laws as useful heritages: *“to preserve stability in government...the new brood should conform themselves to the established constitution, and nearly follow the path which their fathers, treading in the footsteps of theirs had marked out to them.”* (Hume [1758]:368)

Hume analogized family and government by assimilating the common historical ties in society to the blood ties in a family. Individuals as one organic entity are bound to serve the entity’s needs comprising individual needs. For Hume (1758:257) behaviours are universal when confronted to difficulties in nature, (e.g. confronting other tribes in wars).

People submit to a conqueror/usurper (the point of the colonial history of Togo) or unite

¹⁰⁵ “Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure...They govern us in all we do, in all we say, in all we think” (Bentham, 1838:1). “It will happen that the presumptions of affections or necessity, which serve as the foundation of these rules, will often be defective in practice. Consequently, the rules themselves will diverge from their object. But the power of making a will, as we shall see, offers an efficacious remedy to the imperfections of the general law; and this is the principal reason for preserving it” (ibid.334-335)

behind a represented leader against a common enemy. Hume, (2006 [1738]:127) stated: “Men are utterly incapable of society without government that I assert that first rudiments of government to arise from quarrels, not among men of the same society but among those of different societies”. The external world therefore creates the need to socialize.

Hume (ibid.37) notes that “usefulness is agreeable and engages our approbation. This is a matter of fact confirmed by daily observation”. Utility encourages the validation of authority and fuels social existence and changes. Rules occur wherever chaos threatens (e.g. traffic lights). “In general, we may observe that all questions of property are subordinate to the authority of civil laws, which extend, restrain, modify and alter the rules of natural justice, according to the particular convenience of each community. The laws have, or ought to have, a constant reference to the constitution of government, the manners, the climate, the religion, the commerce, the situation of each society” (ibid: 22). As such, justice is a social necessity¹⁰⁶. Hume (2006:37-38) therefore credits necessity of Kant’s “reason” in social constructions by arguing that if reason which initiates morality is triggered by the necessity to do so, Kant ignored he was himself utilitarian¹⁰⁷.

Hegel is more specific while linking the need to socialize to culture and history¹⁰⁸. Needs are social facts that sequentially create dialectical interactions through which accidental/planned discoveries emerge and transform societies. Hegel disagrees with Hume and Rawls on framing society as a family in which children obey their ‘father’ as a political leader. Hegel (ibid.) notes that family is not continuous, and when the members leave, it dissolves. On the other hand, the state can lose and gain members without dissolving. He further argues that parents have their children’s best interests at heart

¹⁰⁶ “...the necessity of justice to the support of society is the sole foundation of that virtue; and since no moral excellence is more highly esteemed, we may conclude, that this circumstance of usefulness has, in general, the strongest energy, and most entire command over our sentiments” (Hume1994 [1751]:96)

¹⁰⁷ “If usefulness, therefore, be a source of moral sentiment, and if this usefulness be not always considered with a reference to self; it follows, that everything, which contributes to the happiness of society, recommends itself directly to our approbation and good-will...a principle, which accounts, in great part, for the origin of morality”

¹⁰⁸ Beings constituting society are cultural and historical (Berry, 1977:703).

(Rose, 2007:118). Succinctly, (Rawls, 2009:320) defends that civil disobedience does not dismiss government or society. Therefore as body cells are interdependent of the whole body, each cell acts/reacts according to their common history with the body. This “implies some degree of obedience” Berry, (1977:696) says.

According to Hegel (2008[1821:258]:229) society is mirror that reflects our identities through comparison with others: “Since the state is mind objectified, it is only as one of its members that the individual himself has objectivity, genuine individuality, and an ethical life.” We are born alone and through others we achieve our end of being social beings. Such a role is even more visible when confronted in other societies. We become fully aware of our particularities through the differences between us and the others.

That raises the question of who defines wellbeing or progress, good and bad if all such concepts have different meaning in different societies. We then become fully aware of our particularities when confronted with others. The state is part of men, and through the state men thrive. According to Berry (1977:691), for Hegel “this concept [the social contract] has cogency only if it separates the individual from the state thus making membership of the State optional, a matter of voluntary choice” and this is not the case. If humans cannot choose between being and not being part of the state, deliberation could not have been at the origin of society.

Consequently, the state is intrinsic to the natural configuration of humans. As a separated body cell, the individual seems to have no function and become vulnerable if the system he/she is part of does not acknowledge him/her. As an independent cell, he/she is a stranger, hence potentially harmful. His/her wellbeing and safety is first ensured by the whole organism. As such, the utilitarian theory hold that out of necessity, individuals give up some of their natural but abstract freedom and embrace full social membership to ensure protection.

2.4.2 Individual liberty and citizenship

Berlin (1969, xxxvii–lxiii, 118–72) distinguished two concepts of liberty: positive liberty obtained through the state, and negative liberty that excludes the state. For Berlin (ibid. xxxviii), the ‘negatively free’ was Hobbesian: “For it to be free -negatively- is simply not to be prevented by another person from doing whatever one wishes, then one of the ways of attaining such freedom is by extinguishing one’s wishes”. Must the criticism of oppressive positive freedoms make someone an outlaw? For Kant (2007[1795]:37-38), because morality was essential to social survival, authority (positive freedom) has implicit consent.¹⁰⁹ Kant criticized dogmas but by ignoring cultural pragmatism he manifestly created new dogmas¹¹⁰. For Kant (1991[1797]:139-140) even when entitled to lawful freedom, “passive citizens” who do not serve public use cannot participate in the social contract (i.e. vote). For Dewey morally decent communities should be democratically organized and be left to deal intelligently rather than unintelligently with the ethical and practical problems (Putnam, 2005:104). Dewey conceded that Kant’s point may be accurate but only in the context of his own time and region, when certain individuals were not emancipated (e.g. women) and the western world was the subject of analysis. In the same vein, Habermas (1998 [1996]:33-34) Thinks that Kant, as a child of the eighteenth century, thought in an unhistorical way and consequently overlooked the layers of traditions in which identities are formed.

¹⁰⁹ “Given a multitude of rational beings requiring universal laws for their preservation, but each of whom is secretly inclined to exempt himself from them, to establish a constitution in such a way that, although their private intentions conflict, they check each other, with the result that their public conduct is the same as if they had no such intentions...A good constitution is not to be expected but conversely, a good moral condition of a people is to be expected only under a good constitution.” (Kant, ibid.)

¹¹⁰ “To be fit to vote, a person must have an independent position among the people. He must therefore be not just a part of the commonwealth, but a member of it, i.e. he must by his own free will actively participate in a community of other people. But his latter quality makes it necessary to distinguish between the active and the passive citizen, although the latter concept seems to contradict the definition of the Concept of a citizen altogether... Apprentices to merchants or tradesmen, servants who are not employed by the state, minors, women in general and all those who are obliged to depend for their living (i.e. for food and protection) on the offices of others (excluding the state) all of these people have no civil personality, and their existence is, so to speak, purely inherent...; the domestic tutor as opposed to the academic, the tithe-holder as opposed to the farmer; and so on—they are all mere auxiliaries to the commonwealth, for they have to receive orders or protection from other individuals, so that they do not possess civil independence.” (Kant, 1991[1797]:139-140)

Also, contemporary thinkers as Pateman (1992), Gatens (1991, 2007) and Mills (1997/2014) have argued that social contract theory does not acknowledged women and people of colour, resulting in a ‘sexual and racial contract’. The dichotomies are strong between past and present in terms of equality, citizenship and voting rights. This is also the case in terms of the superiority of dignities and/or the enlightenment reasoning peers, or the superiority of men over women. Others deplored the misogynist bias built into Enlightenment reasoning (Tuana, 1992, Okin, 1992[1979], and Lloyd 1984). Tuana (1992:47) contends that Rousseau and Kant affiliate man with reason and women with emotion. They suggest he fails to see the “complex interdependence between reason and emotion”. Based on Rousseau’s texts on femininity and reason Lloyd (1984:58) noted that, even though femininity is an object of adulation, it is construed as an immature stage of consciousness, left behind by advancing reason.

2.4.3 Individual wellbeing, social welfare and justice

Individual wellbeing is addressed here because it determines national welfare. As was the case with his predecessors, Aristotle attached great importance to reason and ethics in the pursuit of virtue as well-being, happiness or excellence (Ross and Smith, 1908). For him, goodness is not natural but built through experience¹¹¹ and the root of happiness was the successful accordance of reason and morality in practical situations. For Socrates (Plato, 2004 [R. Book I]:344c.) it was metaphysical morality¹¹²; for Plato it was morality in justice/fairness.

From the research participants’ perspective, traditions unquestionably involve metaphysical dimensions (Socrates’s point). That is, the sacred singlehandedly amputates

¹¹¹ “We are not inquiring in order to know what virtue is, but in order to become good individuals, since otherwise there would be no profit in it.”(Kraut and Skultety, 2005 [NEII.2]:54)

¹¹² “I don’t know what justice is, I’ll hardly know whether it is a kind of virtue or not, or whether a person who has it is happy or unhappy” (Ibid. 354b-c).

freewill by discounting individuals' consent, opinion and frustration while praising submission as virtue.

From Aristotle's standpoint, if questioning traditions is morally wrong, this norm is integrated from birth on through experience¹¹³. For Rousseau inequality and jealousy (both features of property) are relevant. Rousseau (2010[1755]:77) refutes the Hobbesian reasoning but believes that property-related ills eventually demonize man and jeopardize his/her true happiness¹¹⁴. Rivalry for Hume is productive because survival rests on competition (reportedly lacking in the Togolese economic context) and for Hegel happiness emanates from self-recognition through comparison with others and their achievements. Dewey focuses on wellbeing as what it means culturally, the power of traditions, whereas Rawls and Kant¹¹⁵ reason in terms of the political legitimacy involved with duty and rights. Both Kant and Rawls' theory of justice hold that "each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive basic liberty compatible with a similar liberty for others" (Rawls, 1999[1971]:154). Rawls drew on Kant but his rationalism was not deontologist as for him being morally good is motivated by personal gain or fear of reprisals. As such, morality is not empathetic/altruist but selfish calculations. Rawls (1971:511) pinpoints legitimacy as a key criterion based on the principles of reason and impartial justice because, even though fairness is established, through reason justice can be manipulated to serve personal interests¹¹⁶.

¹¹³ In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle identifies two types of virtue: "Intellectual virtue in the main owes its birth and growth to teaching (for which reason it requires experience and time), while moral virtue comes about as a result of habit, whence also its name (*ethike*) is one that is formed by a slight variation from the word *ethos* (habit). From this it is also plain that none of the moral virtues arises in us by nature; for nothing that exists by nature can form a habit contrary to its nature...Neither by nature, then, nor contrary to nature do the virtues arise in us; rather we are adapted by nature to receive them, and are made perfect by habit" (Felty, 1997:94).

¹¹⁴ "Always the hidden desire to profit at the expense of someone else...first effects of property and the inseparable offshoot of incipient inequality".

¹¹⁵ For Kant (1991[1797]:142), welfare is not synonymous with the well-being and happiness of citizens. Welfare, for Kant, whether authority is Rousseau-like (consent) or Humean (forced despotically) "should be seen as that condition in which the constitution most closely approximates to the principles of right; and reason, by a categorical imperative, obliges us to strive for its realization" (Kant, *ibid.*143) regardless of individual interest.

¹¹⁶ Rawls (2011:225) notes "in justice as fairness ... the parties in the original position, in adopting principles of justice for the basic structure, must also adopt guidelines and criteria of public reasons for applying those norms."

2.4.4 Liberty-Knowledge-critique -ethics relationships

“Formal philosophy is called logic. Material philosophy...is again two-fold; for these laws are either laws of nature or freedom. The science of the former is Physics, that of the latter, Ethics, they are also called natural philosophy and moral philosophy respectively.” (Kant, 2013c [1785]:1)

This section reviews three interdependent social aspects/dynamics because of their role in shaping/ catalysing social transformation with individuals/citizens as a means. They are presented as follows: (1) Knowledge affiliated with the power/capacity to determine what one is, knows, and is capable of through power; (2) critique (indicative of freedom) assesses the likelihood of the environment in terms of the opportunities necessary to rethink and produce knowledge with the purpose of affecting society accordingly; (3) the ethics associated with law or traditions which may support or undermine knowledge and freedom, including the freedom to criticize. For Popper (1996[1994]:7-16) progress has been hindered by the immutability of laws because science must be “based on a revolutionary use of trial and the elimination of error by criticism”. To synthesize, critical thinking is bound to knowledge, but without freedom and popular adhesion it cannot overturn the tyranny of dogma or obsolete beliefs and practices.

2.4.4.1 Liberty

For Kant, morality/ethics and freedom should be analysed interdependently. Knowledge, critique and ethics are particularly emphasized here as viewed amongst the principal value-shaping forces behind socio-economic welfare and individual well-being. In the image of mores/customs and traditions in Togo Kant (2002[1790]:322) distinguished a priori knowledge (universal knowledge) which he linked to analytic judgement and posteriori knowledge (knowledge gained from experience) referred to as synthetic judgement. Kant emphasizes the necessity of both obedience and critique/enlightenment

in society¹¹⁷. He states that all distinct three powers (potestas legislativa, executorial, iudiciaria) within the state are political dignities and “involve a relationship between a universal sovereign who, if considered in the light of laws of freedom, can be none other than the united people itself...a relationship of commander (imperans) to him who obeys (subditus)” (Kant, 1991[1797]:139-142). Such reasoning provides examples of the pervasive restrictions on freedom. Kant praises obedience and emancipation¹¹⁸ and designate freedom as essential to Enlightenment¹¹⁹. The inconsistency of the claim lies in coupling sacred obedience and enlightenment (challenger of the order). Kant’s argument simply is freedom: “The public use of one’s reason must always be free, and it alone can bring about enlightenment among mankind” (Kant, *ibid.*).

2.4.4.2 Knowledge

Knowledge in the form of an informational commodity indispensable to productive power is already, and will continue to be, a major –perhaps the major-stake in the worldwide competition for power. (Lyotard, 1984 [1979]:5)

This segment questions what knowledge is, who the knower is, whether knowledge is accessible to all, and its place in society. Rawls (2009[1971]:11) equates the absence of knowledge to a veil of ignorance that prevents from benefiting fully from laws in ways that harmonize freedom and duty. He then questioned the extent to which people wear their veil of ignorance voluntarily or forcibly (i.e. inaccessibility of knowledge or access limited to altered knowledge by control or denied access) for the sake of morality (*ibid.*).

¹¹⁷ “Nothing is required for this enlightenment, however, except freedom; and the freedom in question is the least harmful of all, namely, the freedom to use reason publicly in all matters. But on all sides I hear: “Do not argue!” The officer says, “Do not argue. Drill!” The tax man says, “Do not argue. Pay!” The pastor says, “Do not argue. Believe!” (Only one ruler in the World says, “Argue as much as you want and about what you want, but obey!”) (Kant, 1983[1784]:41).

¹¹⁸ “It is so easy to be immature... Thus, it is difficult for any individual man to work himself out of the immaturity that has all but become his nature. He has even become fond of this state and for the time being is actually incapable of using his own understanding, for no one has ever allowed him to attempt it...Consequently, only a few have succeeded, by cultivating their own minds, in freeing themselves from immaturity and pursuing a secure course” (Kant, *ibid.*)

¹¹⁹ “If it is only allowed freedom, enlightenment is almost inevitable” (*ibid.*).

Plato (2004[Republic]:514-520a) through the “Allegory of the cave” arguably pioneered the idea that mind-ills (ignorance/illusion) can be escaped through education. Knowledge for Rousseau (1982[1754]:38) distinguishes the “natural man” or “savage” from the “enlightened man”. Enlightenment is for Kant (1983[1784]:33) the emergence from cowardice and laziness toward public affirmation without the others’ guidance/influence¹²⁰. Freedom and courage are decisive but insufficient without the effort of self-education needed for questioning/challenging society¹²¹. This sacrosanct conception of posteriori knowledge bear a resemblance to Aristotle’s¹²². It implicates learning/questioning as much as transcending knowledge through the use of reason to achieve fruitful critical thinking. The pursuit of knowledge induces ways of thinking through morally-informed judgment. Individuals unaware of their ignorance bear a double burden because they suffer injustices from and do not realize it. Those to whom knowledge is inaccessible ignore their rights. They ignore when they are abused or whether or not rulings are legitimate¹²³. To develop upon this reasoning, Kant (1987:161) states that knowledge liberates from prejudice and systems. The lack of written records of traditional laws (oral communication) in Togo illustrates how access to knowledge depends more on systems than individuals. That includes high illiteracy rates, a lack of material and reduced access to clear legal information. If, in countries such as Togo the knower is elite, it is difficult, particularly in the field of unwritten tradition laws to tell when a rule is improvised by one individual or a small group since oral rules are materially untraceable.

¹²⁰ Kant 1838[1781]:623) asked: “Do you require, then, that a cognition which concerns all men should transcend the common understanding, and should only be discovered to you by philosophers? No man is free from all interests.”

¹²¹ “Cultivate your powers of mind and body so that they are fit to realize any ends you might encounter”(Kant, 2005: 163[1797:392]).

¹²² “It is strange if someone thinks that politics or practical wisdom is the most excellent kind of knowledge, unless man is the best thing in the cosmos” (Nicomachean Ethics, 384 /322, 6.11.1141a20–22).

¹²³ Kant (2005:4) acknowledges that: “...morals themselves are liable to all sorts of corruption, as long as we are without that clue and supreme canon by which to estimate them correctly.”

“The parties do not know their conceptions of the good or their special psychological propensities. The principles of justice are chosen behind a veil of ignorance.” (Rawls, 2009 [1971]:11)

For Kant (1991[1797]:142), social welfare requires reason¹²⁴ and obedience to an impartial authority. If for Rousseau (2011[1754]:39), knowledge (as property) inhibits goodness, Kant argues that because critique through reason suggests prior wisdom, knowledge empowers: “[man] ought constantly to bless the happy moment that pulled him away from it [the state of nature] forever and which transformed him from a stupid, limited animal into an intelligent being and a man”. Since the needs and capacity to self-educate are subject to the socio-cultural context, by targeting historical roots of behaviors, critical thinking catalysts can be identified and acted upon. Thus, in a free environment with fair/impartial authority and through effort to learn, reason and experience, one can transcend existing knowledge by creating and making public use of new knowledge.

2.4.4.3 Criticism

”All philosophy is either cognition from pure reason, or reason-cognition from empirical principles. The first is termed pure, the second empirical philosophy. Now , the philosophy of pure reason is either a propaedeutic (pre-exercise), which investigates the faculty of reason in respect of all pure cognition a priori, and is called critic ” Kant (1838 [1781]:630)

In Togo, criticism is impolite and the Togolese believe in destiny and trust as well as in God/deities for a brighter future (Culturegrams, 2014). The reason for the progression/regression of a society’s well-being are various and often incorrectly assessed. “Well-being”, a multidimensional concept can be defined objectively and/or subjectively. Although empirical, economic indicators of well-being are suggestive causing limited comprehensions of a social well-being. As an example, what binds rational beings to norms they deem repressive? Rousseau ([1988]1762:17) wrote: “man is born free, but he is everywhere in chains. He who believes himself the master of others does not escape being more of a slave than they”. Social contract involves the abandonment of inborn instinctive

¹²⁴ For Kant (1838 [1781]:84) reason “never refers directly to experience, or to an object, but to understanding”

freedom, but ensures nevertheless mutual protection, communal advantages and very importantly identity or distinctiveness as an ideological representation. That is peace found through alienation. Considering this, is society a masochist relationship? Kant depicts “the faculty of the unity of the rules of the understanding under principles” (Guyer, 1992:283). Due to the impossibility of providing all services to oneself (banking, medical care, etc.), living outside the society seemingly equals sentencing oneself to death. Durkheim (2006[1897]) has illustrated suicide as symptomatic of the rejection of a social contract. Thus, through reason and experience humanity seeks citizenship and the lesser of two evils; being alone and vulnerable or alienated but safe¹²⁵.

Kant’s optimistic view of authority reconciles alienation and freedom in the form of the question: what would any reasonable man be willing to live do? ¹²⁶. However, does a slave’s obedience imply any agreement at all? Hegel (2012[1837]:46) remarked: “imperious lordship on the one hand, instinctive submission on the other. But even obedience, lordly power and the fear inspired by a ruler in itself implies some degree of voluntary consent.” Being part of a society may not be optional, nevertheless questioning the status quo is not pointless. Reason can be freely used but this cannot be external to social authority. This is not only to ensure that no one is harmed in the process but to make all benefit from it. In this context, criticism as a welfare promoter encompasses different perspectives. Critical thinking manifests as enlightenment through knowledge (Kant) and secondly critical thinking manifests as self-awareness through mutual recognition and dialectical discourse (Hegel). Hegel (2007[1827]:144) asserts that: “...in order for me to have self-consciousness, it is necessary for me to know myself in the other.” In a struggle for recognition, self-awareness occurs subjectively/objectively through contrasts with others.

¹²⁵ In keeping with Kant’s reasoning, Rousseau (1979 [1762]: 37-40) distinguished between man and citizen: “Forced to combat nature or the social institutions, one must choose between making a man or a citizen, for one cannot make both at the same time”

¹²⁶ “What can I know?” “What ought I to do?” and “What may I hope?” Kant (1838[1781]:605)

Self-knowledge is therefore as important as posteriori knowledge in terms of identity, authenticity of criticism and social discourse. Hegel (1904[1817]:149) proposed dialectical methods¹²⁷. This process was described by Fichte (1993[1794]:249) as "simultaneously thetic, antithetic and synthetic", involving a thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The Hegelian dialectics entailed the emergence of self-consciousness and the epiphany of pure spirit¹²⁸. Thus, knowing and criticism are essential for social transformation and a prior inventory is necessary before decision-making. In critical thinking, confronting knowledge by highlighting flaws may lead to decisions that involve further dialectical and dialogic processes. Rules of law/traditions are theories. They can evolve, stagnate or regress in the image of experience or practical situations. However critique is useless without the courage to suppress unsuitable theories. Even though some theories and social norms were once legitimate their relevance can currently be questioned/falsified. Falsification relates to critique (e.g. against capitalism for Marx).

Traditions have a purpose, but when their relevance becomes uncertain, reassessing them becomes crucial because the reason for their existence is to serve situations, even if sometimes the original intentions are personal. Indeed, for Popper (1996[1994]:7) it is vital to "get rid of badly fitting theory before the adoption of the theory makes us unfit to survive." What hinders progress is the monopoly/immutability of laws (Popper, *ibid.* 7-16). Nonetheless, critique and falsification must involve testability. Laws must be questioned, tested, reaffirmed or even refuted when evidence contradicts their legitimacy and accuracy and falsified conclusions remain falsifiable.¹²⁹ So even traditions designed to create well-

¹²⁷ "To study things in their own being and movement and thus to demonstrate the finitude of the partial categories of understanding" (Hegel, 1904[1817]:149).

¹²⁸ Dallmayr (1993:63), in considering Hegel's point suggests: "consciousness 'knows and comprehends nothing but what falls within its experience.' The subject matter of experience, however, is spirit – for spirit is precisely 'this movement of becoming another (an object) for itself and of subsuming in turn this otherness' that is, the movement of 'estrangement' and its overcoming."

¹²⁹ "Every scientific statement must remain tentative forever. Only in our subjective experiences of conviction, in our subjective faith, can we be 'absolutely certain'" (Popper, 2002[1934]:280). "Knowledge in itself, it is never secure from falsification" (Lyotard, 1984[1979]:26).

being can end up hampering new situations if they are ineffective.¹³⁰ That is, falsification should serve to correct, complete and even replace theory. Some deplored the compromises in dialectical debates:

Dialecticians say that contradictions are fruitful, or fertile or productive of progress, and we have admitted that this is, in a sense true. It is true, however, only so long as we are determined not to put up with contradictions, and to change any theory which involves contradictions; in other words never to accept a contradiction: it is solely due to this determination of ours that criticism, i.e. the pointing out of contradictions, induces us to change our theories and thereby to progress...Hegel's logic – which is not merely obsolete but typical of pre-scientific and even pre-logical ways of thinking...The whole development of dialectic should be a warning against the dangers inherent in philosophical system-building. It should remind us that philosophy should not be made a basis for any sort of scientific system and that philosophers should be much more modest in their claims. One task which they can fulfil quite usefully is the study of the critical methods of science. (Popper, 2014[1963]:425-451)

In place of a radical shift, Kuhn (1970[1962]) proposed evolutionary theoretical shifts in which paradigms adjust to circumstances. Kuhn (1977) in “Essential Tension” refers to the disciplinary ‘matrix’ which captures the range of ontological commitments and values shared by a scientific group, and amounts to a metaphysical view (Hessenbruch, 2013:547). Lakatos (1970) then synthesized Kuhn’s paradigm shifts and Popper’s falsification by focusing on the applicability/suitability of theories with a core paradigm, rather than labelling theories as false or true. Depending on the society, the spiritual dimension of morality influences the nature of criticism. Since the radical overthrowing of theories can reveal themselves as more destructive than constructive, society-specific discussion is in order. Mandel (1977) writes in the introduction to Marx’s Capital, ‘when the dialectical method is applied to the study of economic problems, economic phenomena are not viewed separately from each other... but in their inner connection... and the inner contradictions ... which define their very nature’(Marx, 1978[1867]:18). Habermas (1971) noted that critical theory focuses on subjective situations related to individuals/groups.

¹³⁰ “Even where a natural talent for judgement is present, there may still be a lack of premises...the theory may be incomplete, and can perhaps be perfected only by future experiments and experiences from which the newly qualified doctor, agriculturalist or economist can and ought to abstract new rules for himself to complete his theory.” (Kant, 1991[1793]:61)

This philosophical stand applies to influential variables and can deepen the understanding of how such variables can dominate (Dryzeck, 1995:99). Traditional theory on the other hand argues that: “the individual as a rule must simply accept the basic conditions of his existence as given and strive to fulfil them” Horkheimer (2002[1972]:207). The literature suggests that the features of traditional theory prevail in Togolese society where criticism is attacked and people see traditions as holy legacies of the past, and divinities. For Marx critique unchains the oppressed class that lives in an illusory system created by the oppressing class (Engels and Adler, 1990). Amongst the critical theory pioneers, Horkheimer (1982), drawing on Marx, validated the utility of critical theory as a tool to initiate social change by liberating humanity from enslavement (Horkheimer, *ibid.*244). The extent to which effective change occurs without a proper understanding of the problem is not always clear. Hence, room must be made for adaptation between dialectical and dialogical developments directing analysis and action. Marcuse (1979) criticized the capitalist social order but remarked that marginalized individuals were the means of real social change because they experience the true ills of the system. From a Kantian standpoint, the philosopher is simply a human being that exists in a social context. That is, the researcher does not occupy a lofty position from which to observe phenomena (Howell, 2013:11). Marx’s dialectics highlight categorical change, and the discrepancies between theory and practice that unveil flaws in socio-economic policy. Marx’s arguments suppose a gap between theory and practice. In practice indeed, social transformation forces theory evolution. This also speaks to the tendency in criticism to fall into the trap of impermeable systems of thought restrained to bureaucratic theorization. Howell (2013) used a real-life example: “Revolution can change an autocratic regime into one that is democratic. However a revolution is unable to bring about changes in the way people think as similar ideas to the previous regime will take the place of those that controlled the unthinking masses, such as happened in the English, French and Russian

revolutions”(ibid.). Hence, Enlightenment or knowledge, from an intellectual and revolutionary perspective should not free man from certain types of ideological dictatorships toward new types of inflexible ideological enslavement¹³¹. Thus, theory and practice are inseparable and should be continuously analysed together in order to determine real solutions to real problems. Reason and contextual experience continuously create, not only knowledge, but the strategic and efficient use of knowledge. “Unavoidably the period of utopian construction is liable to be one of social change.” Popper (2014 [1963]:484) says. Conclusively, efficient knowledge should be effective at improving social welfare and laws through criticism born from knowledge instead of convictions.

2.4.4.4 Moral codes: justly enslaving or unequally ethical?

There can be no conflict between politics, as an applied branch of right, and morality, as a theoretical branch of right (i.e. between theory and practice)... If politics were to say: 'Be ye therefore vices as serpents', morality might add, by way of qualification: 'and harmless as doves'. If these two precepts cannot exist together within a single commandment, then there is indeed a disagreement between politics and morality. But if the two are to be united, it is absurd to suppose that they are in opposition, and the question of how such a conflict could be resolved cannot even be posed.
(Kant, 1991[1795]:116)

The value of metaphysics, norms or ancestral patterns is perhaps the most powerful means of persuading populations, even in so called advanced societies. Kant (2013[1784]:1) denounced the lack of courage of people exhibit in thinking critically. Courage suggests fear and some fears are more or less encumbering depending on people’s level of carelessness, egocentrism/altruism, madness, integrity, honesty, etc. The ‘lack of courage, in this sense involves understanding the benefits and individual liberties at stake in

¹³¹ Indeed, while denouncing dogma some make dogmatic claims. Dewey (op.cit.:185) identified several recurring dogmatist assertions in the social sciences: «Under the influence of concepts borrowed from the physical science of the time, it was taken for granted that the very possibility of a social science stood or fell with the determination of fixed uniformities... What we have termed the absolutistic logic ends, as far as method in social matters is concerned, in a substitution of discussion of concepts and their logical relations to one another for inquiry. Whatever form it assumes, it results in strengthening the reign of dogma. Their contents may vary, but dogma persists.”

defying positive liberties. For Kant (1991:116) as laws or positive liberties are not always flawless in practice, individual honesty must prevail¹³². This is Aristotle's point when stating that man needs honesty to be happy and will act according to rules in order to flourish¹³³. Honesty does not necessarily protect public confession from condemnation. So, does escaping social condemnation mean dishonesty to society but honesty to self? Honesty toward oneself may become priority if dethroning the sovereign/authority is not as realisable as Hobbes, Locke and even Rousseau suggested. In fact, submission by force as Hume pointed in some practical situations invalidates such dismissal of authority unless democracy, as defined by Habermas exists¹³⁴.

As survival at all costs may result in breeding personal liberties in concealment, positive liberties/authority and their enforcement are necessary for the society at large.¹³⁵ Morality, for Habermas is a cornerstone in social science; a mechanism that essentially exists to regulate humans' social interactions (Habermas, 1990 [1973]). Cronin and De Greiff (2005:xiii) noted that Habermas contradicts the Kantian universal morality principles (Kant, 1991[1792]:116) because "liberty rights cannot be implemented without broad popular participation in the processes of political opinion-formation of an inclusive public sphere, through which the citizens can influence the definitions of their needs and interests that are embodied in the law". That is, the principles of and the universality of morality and duty loses their immutability traits when confronted with diverse physical and intangible realities¹³⁶.

¹³² "It is true, alas, that the saying 'Honesty is the best policy' embodies a theory which is frequently contradicted by practice. Yet the equally theoretical proposition 'Honesty is better than any polio' infinitely transcends all objections, and it is indeed an indispensable condition of any policy whatsoever." (Kant, 1991:116)

¹³³ "Doing well itself serves as an end" Aristotle (1998[VI.5:1140b7]) or "Virtue makes the goal right, practical wisdom the things leading to it" (ibid.1144a7–8).

¹³⁴ "Positive law can no longer derive its legitimacy from a higher-ranking moral law but only from a procedure of presumptively rational opinion – and will-formation" (Habermas, 1987:458).

¹³⁵ "We cannot say that men within a state have sacrificed a part of their inborn external freedom for a specific purpose; they have in fact completely abandoned their wild and lawless freedom, in order to find again their entire and undiminished freedom in a state of lawful dependence (i.e. in a state of right), for this dependence is created by their own legislative will" Kant (1991[1797]:140).

¹³⁶ "The fact that legal norms must be enacted and that all legal norms are in principle subject to revision means that their domain of application is limited in the first instance to a particular jurisdiction and its citizenry. If we are to do justice to

Because man is self-interested, surrendering to a repressive social framework is tactical and transitory according to Hobbes (1651). The sovereign/tradition/authority can be overthrown if judged to be no longer of use for individuals that have established them for their personal agendas. Knowingly, for selfish motives the sovereign will safeguard his throne by empowering those capable of aborting rebellions. Habermas (1996[1992]:94-122]), associated the concepts of free speech and natural right and defined democratic regime and morality relationship as a democratic system as a universal “system of rights” that outlines positive law for all in a manner that involves private autonomy, public autonomy and social-welfare¹³⁷. According to the local informants and literature, Togo practically lack such type of democracy even though proclaimed a democratic nation since 1990. Oral customary traditions overshadow modern postcolonial written laws but often rule in favour of the most powerful or wealthier¹³⁸. When resources are scarce, the marginalized can hardly free themselves from their dependency on those who, based on socio-traditional position/status, amass assets they feel entitled to. Accordingly, the next section covers literature on the research area.

the distinctive mode of legitimacy of positive legal orders, Habermas argues, we should begin by asking what rights free and equal citizens must confer on one another if they are to regulate their common life by means of positive law” (Ibid.)

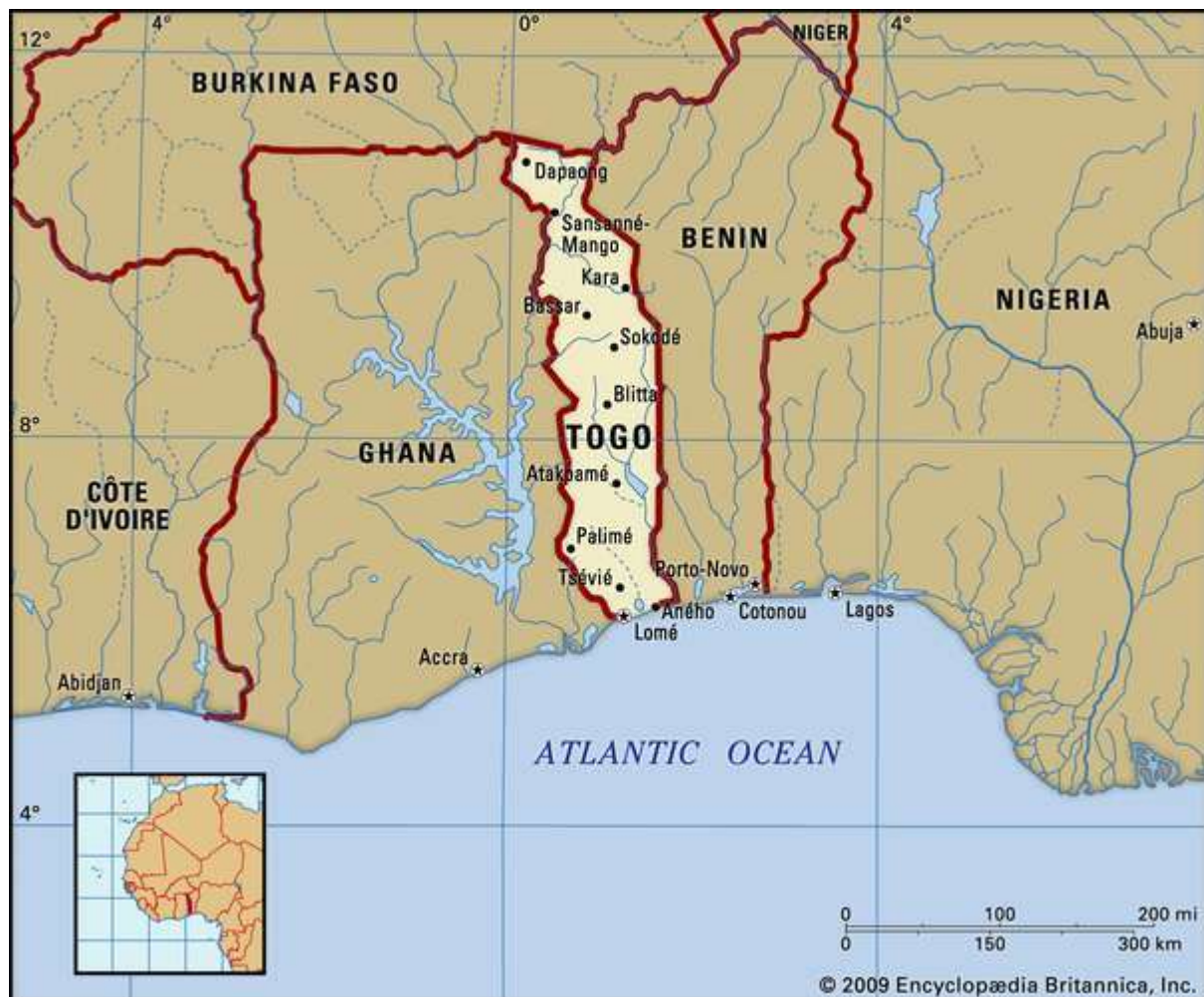
¹³⁷ “The establishment of the legal code, which is undertaken with the help of the universal right to equal individual liberties, must be completed through communicative and participatory rights that guarantee equal opportunities for the public use of communicative liberties. In this way, the discourse principle acquires the legal shape of a democratic principle” (Habermas, 1996[1992]:94-122). For Habermas (1998 [1996]) Enlightenment should be pragmatic and in action on a case-by-case basis. “Kant failed to distinguish ethical questions sufficiently from pragmatic questions. Anyone who takes seriously questions of ethical self-understanding stands against the stubborn cultural meaning of an individual’s or a group’s altered interpretations of the world, and of themselves.”(ibid.33-34)

¹³⁸ UNstats (2019), BTI (2014).

2.5 Study area review: general background information

Every region has specific biophysical, historical, economic, and cultural backdrops that influence its systemic structure. The following literature reviews the social, politico-economic and biophysical dimensions of the research area. It serves as a baseline for knowledge later developed upon interactive data collection.

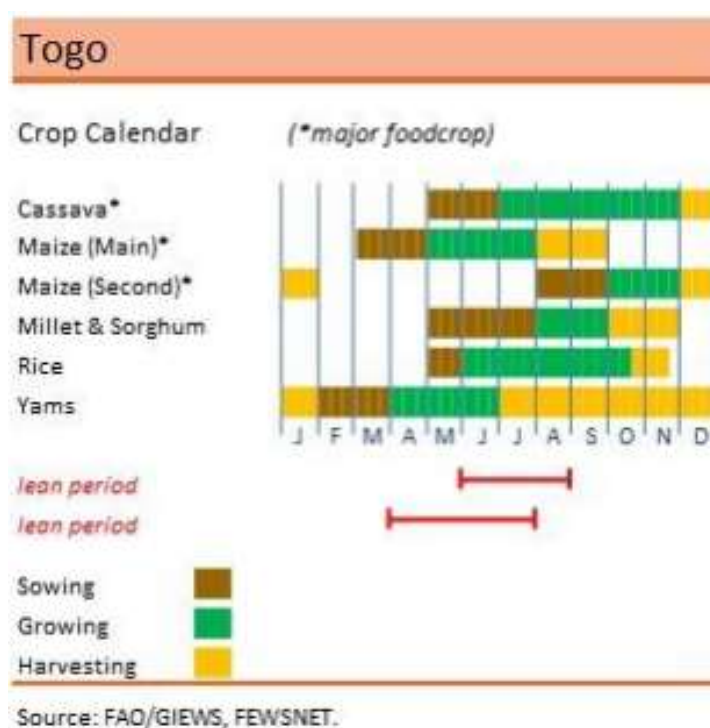
Physical and socio-demographic dimensions will be intersected with primary data collection. The aim is not to epitomize economic reports facts, but to understand the mechanisms/dynamics behind them as to meet the ontological expectations of the thesis.



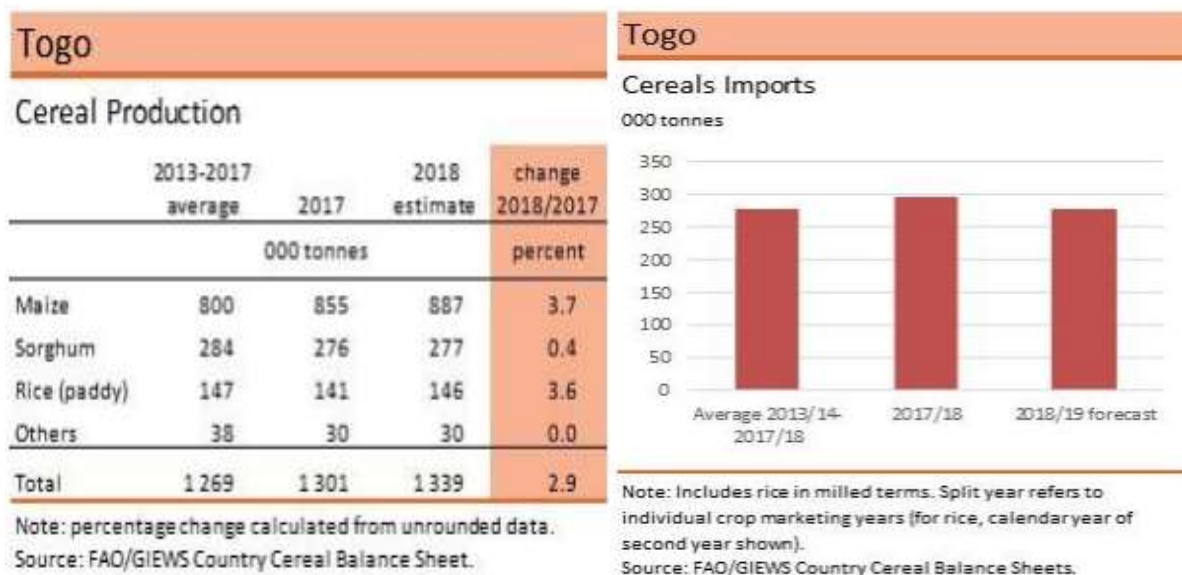
2.5.1 Brief review of diet content

In Togo staple foods include maize, sorghum and local rice, millet and yams (WFP, 2019). Cassava is the most commonly grown crop in the category of roots and tubers (Boansi 2017). The greatest potential value is derived from cocoa beans followed by maize. Cassava and yams are the first and second most consumed food crops consumed in the country in terms of weight consumed (ibid.).

Cocoa is the most common cash crop and maize the most widely cultivated crop is grown in all parts of the country, with yields ranging from 1 to 2mt/ha, although in some areas the yields are lower (FAO, 2019; IFPRI, 2013). Sorghum (1 to 2t/ha), second most common crop is concentrated mostly in the central and extreme southern parts; beans (<05t/ha) are grown mainly in the middle belt; cassava (4-7t/ha), sweet potatoes and yams (>10t/ha) are grown in the south and middle parts, but cassava is also grown in the middle and far north regions (ibid.).



Owing to poor agricultural productivity) basic foodstuffs as cereals must be imported to meet the growing demands (AFDB, 2019; CIA, 2017; OECD et al., 2013).



Beans, groundnuts, cassava, sweet potatoes, cocoyam (taro), and plantains are also significant to the daily diet (FAO, 2019; Culturegrams, 2014). Cereals and roots might be boiled/fried, or boiled and pounded to make a soft dough or paste usually served with vegetables soups/dips, smoked, fried/grilled/boiled fish or meat (lamb/goat/beef/fowl or fish). Soups made of vegetables okra, eggplants, or various leaves well as oleaginous (e.g. peanuts, sesame, etc.) are common but recipes vary by region. In most families, animal products are scarce and rationed to last the longest possible (ibid.). Fish is more accessible in the South due to its coastal location. Goat and beef are more common in the center and in the north, but its availability in the north is complicated by the lack of a means to appropriately purchase and grow cattle. The poorest zones are in the Northern rural areas (IFPRI, 2013; OECD, 2013; WB, 2011). Meals often contain palm, coconut, or peanut oils (Culturegrams, 2014). Local fruits include oranges, grapefruit, limes, mangoes, pineapples, melons, and bananas. A typical diet varies very little, but for special occasions the quantity and quality of food improve to include more meat or special seasonings.

2.5.2 : Biophysical dimension and historical framework



Togo, a land mass of some 56,600 km² with a population of 7.79769 people (WB, 2017) is located in West Africa. Togo is an ECOWAS and WAEMU member¹³⁹. Bordered by the Atlantic Ocean¹⁴⁰, it shares borders with Burkina Faso and Benin, both members of WAEMU, and also with Ghana, an ECOWAS member (WTO, 2017). Togo is organized administratively in five regions, from south to north as follows: Maritime, Plateaux, Centrale, Kara and Savannah (ibid.). As the social discourse gravitates around and cultural and socio-political spectrum, the biophysical and historical backgrounds and the relationship between these are essential to emphasize.

¹³⁹ “Togo is a member of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) and of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Its monetary and foreign-exchange policies are the responsibility of the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO). The common currency of the WAEMU countries is the West African Financial Community franc (CFAF), which is pegged to the euro at a fixed rate of CFAF 655.957 per euro” (WTO, 2017). “The Common External Tariff (CET) adopted by WAEMU and ECOWAS in 2014 has been effective since 1 January 2015. The four former WAEMU tariff bands (0%, 5%, 10 and 20%) have been replaced by five bands (0%, 5%, 10%, 20% and 35%) to align on the ECOWAS tariff.” (AFDB, 2019)

¹⁴⁰ Togo’s port (the only natural deep-water port on the West African coast) gives it advantages as a trade and transit hub in the sub-region. In this connection, Togo serves as a transit route for the countries of the hinterland (Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger) as well as for its neighbours (Benin and Ghana) (ibid.).

According to the AFDB (2019) “the Lomé Port is a regional integration and trade development instrument for Togo and its landlocked and coastal neighbours. Togo’s trade relations within the region have been crucial in WAEMU, accounting for 52% of the country’s exports in 2016. At least 40% of imports through Lomé Port are goods in transit or to be re-exported to the West African region.”



Source: Mapsland (2019)

History has significantly shaped the socio-economic profile of Togo. As Gayibor (1997) reported, the populations reputed to be autochthones essentially lived in mountains which cross the Togolese territory as a sling. These mountains also appeared as a privileged site in the history of settlement as a refuge zone and other advantages¹⁴¹. As shown in further sections, topography in turn has been affected by history because it isolated mountain populations from foreign traders and belated openness to the unescapable new globalized world. Indeed, socio-demographic transition has affected the natural setting complicating waste managements as well as bacterial infections/disease control during long raining

¹⁴¹ Among the advantages Gayibor (1997:72) reported Health (healthy air, absence or scarcity of disease-spreading agents); climate (more significant rainfall compared to the surrounding plains, therefore abundance of vegetation and game, easier breeding and farming); strategic factors: effective protection against slave hunters, difficulty of access for the enemy, privileged observatory; the convenience of quartzite in large thin plates with multiple uses.

season. Furthermore, recent climatic changes as the extreme droughts during 2013-2014 (WB, 2011) or the series of devastating floods since 2006 (WFP, 2019) have participated in exacerbating hunger issues and future food concerns.

The strong interrelationships of biophysical and historical forces go back further the post-colonial era. Two practical examples will serve to illustrate this. Archeological data on Togo suggest that about 500 AD the Bassar people were the first to work with iron sourced from Bandjeli's pure hematite ores which competed with cheap European imported iron for the construction and repair of the colonial German railroads (De Barros, 1986:158; Goucher, 1984:136-137). This had important effects on demography and settlements patterns in the eastern Bassar region¹⁴², a major iron-producing Centre (De Barros, 1988). In the 11th century a tribe from Yorubaland (Nigerian region) settled in southeastern Togo and mixed with the locals to become the Aja. They formed the powerful/prosperous kingdom of Tado (Gayibor, 2011:457).

Due to successions of rulers and political conflicts at the end of the 16th century, some of the Adja-Ewe left Tado for Atakpamé and Notsé where the king Agokoli ruled tyrannically (Posnansky, 1982). Child sacrifices and killings were inflicted upon the citizens of Tado resulting in their relocation to southeastern Ghana and southern Togo. In 1720 they escaped Agokoli's madness for various locations and founded Alomé (now Lomé, the capital) (Stokes and Gorman, 2009:692).

This group, known as the Ewe recalls bitterly the tyrannical King (Decalo, 1987) and the tyranny of central political control. Their more frequent interactions with European traders also made them resilient to criticism. Meanwhile the north remained norm-rigid.

¹⁴² "A general tendency toward higher population densities, larger habitation sites , and ultimately a settlement pattern composed of a large village" (De Corse, 2016:63)

2.5.2.1 Biophysical dimension in brief

In terms of biophysical disparities between north and south, annual average temperatures are slightly higher in the north whereas precipitation is generally higher in the south. Average temperature across the country shows two peaks throughout year in March and November (Earthwise, 2015). In the north there is one long rainy season April through October and a dry season between December and March whereas in the south there are two rainy seasons and two dry seasons which occur during April-July and September-October (ibid.). The soils involve specific disparities that may have implications for agricultural productivity¹⁴³. If soils are to be relied upon for food and fibre production and for the mitigation of climate change, knowledge and expertise are necessary (AFSA, 2016; FAO, 2013; Marks et al., 2008; Sebastia et al, 2008; Canadell et al., 2007; Tilman et al., 2006; FAO, 2004; Goh, 2004, Lat et al., 2004; Parton et al., 2004;Tschakert et al., 2004; Hector et al., 1998; Herrick et Wander, 1997, Foth and Ellis, 1996; Batjes, 1995, Chapin III et al., 1997; Hooper et al., 1997; Brady, 1984; Jenny, 1980).

2.5.2.2 The historical framework

The arrival in the 15th century of Europeans evangelists, sailors and traders (Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, Spanish, British, and German) on the Atlantic coast initiated slave trade across the Atlantic to the Caribbean and to North and South America (Gayibor, 2007). The Europeans' trade influenced the coastal autochthones of Benin, Niger and Togo who supplied slaves between the 17th and 19th centuries (ibid.). Even though Togo had no harbors and insufficient infrastructure to load/offload slaves, it was once a major supplier

¹⁴³ "Clay-rich Lixosols, which are common in the northern part of Togo, generally reflect stable geological conditions and natural savannah vegetation. Leptosols are common along the Togo Mountain chain. These are generally shallow soils that form over hard rock. To the south of the mountainous region, iron-rich Plinthosols are dominant. These typically form over gently undulating landscapes. Nitosols, which form on alluvium and are generally very productive, are common along the low-lying coastal plain in the south of Togo. Fluvisols have developed along the valley of the River Oti in the north and the River Zio in the south." (Earthwise, 2015). The FAO (2020) provides knowledge of the soils categorized by group.

of slaves who were transported to European settlements in Benin and Ghana (ibid.). The empirical history of Togo before that period is limited¹⁴⁴ due to the dominance of oral modes of communication. Togo is one of the countries in West Africa where archaeological investigations have remained unknown for a long time as works only started effectively in 1979 with the Ponansky mission¹⁴⁵ (Gayibor, 1997:41). Nonetheless, archeological evidence suggest that certain populations of the center and mountains were established between the 7th and 12th century C.E, followed by a population growth in the south between the 12th and 18th centuries (Stokes and Gorman, 2009). In the late 19th century, colonial Germany started settling on the shores to trade (1850s-1880s) and encouraged local industries and traditional trade patterns, namely of iron ore which they taxed. This occupation extended further north in 1894 (De Corse, 2016; de Barros, 1985). The combined northern and southern territories were called Togoland.

Togo, as a German exploitable possession was protected by Germans from English invaders and other tribal attacks (Decalo, 1987). Education, and language particularly were among the strategic tools against British invasion (linguistic colonization). Indeed, English¹⁴⁶ was eliminated in mission and state schools while church leaders were pressed to ensure German language, customs and economic practices (Lawrance, 2000). The local resistance to the new language forced Germans into reconsidering from 1901 the Ewe local language as the proper medium to disseminate German culture (e.g. Ewe Bible, newspapers, books, etc.) (ibid.). In 1897, Germany and Britain established boundaries to

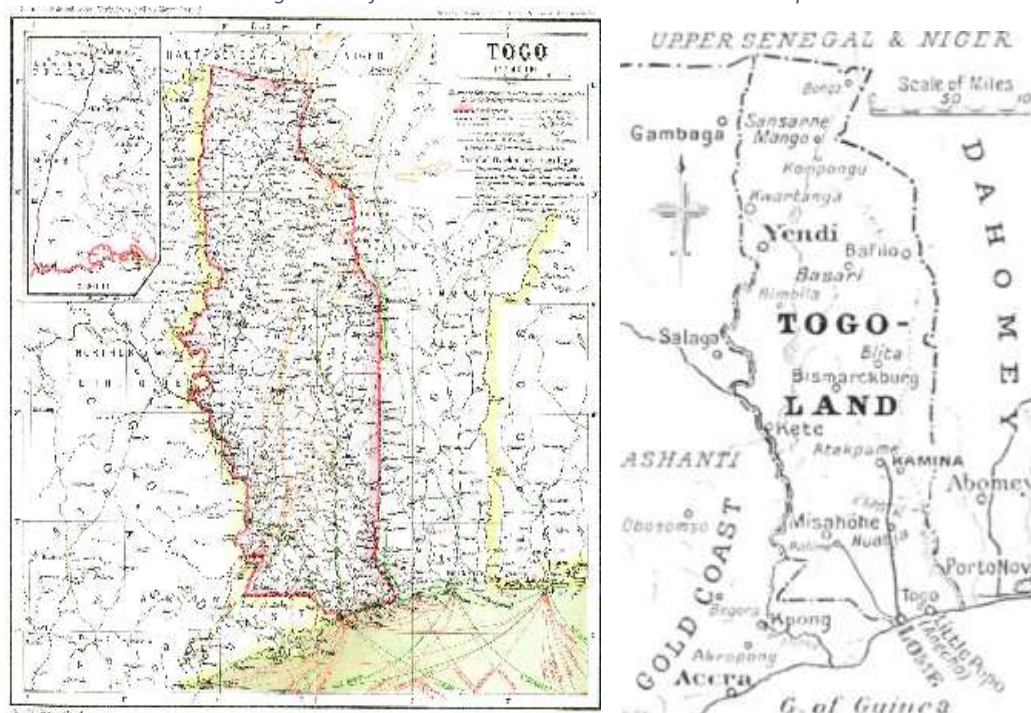
¹⁴⁴ It is impossible to know the truth about the oldest occupation of the grounds as disputes over land are frequent (Cornevin, 1963:22). "The unclear nature of these chronological sections is under no circumstance due to the mental state of the people, nor to the characteristics of material life. It is linked to the nature of the sources available to go back to this past, to essentially oral civilization. The collective memory, despite its efforts and the codification of the methods of transmission of the oral tradition can hardly go back beyond a few generations: five or six, sometimes ten in the most favorable cases. Very quickly the traditions are marred by inaccuracies, even manipulation, and become myths, the legend then takes precedence over history" (Gayibor, 1997:72) (authors' translation from French)

¹⁴⁵ Mission led by Professor Merrick Ponansky from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), composed of his assistant Philipp de Barros and André Dovi kuévi from ORSTROM. (Gayibor, 1997)

¹⁴⁶ English was already practiced as England was already involved in a panel of activities prior to the 1884 Berlin conference which created artificial boundaries and affected lands to Europeans colonial powers in order to avoid colony ownership conflicts (Lawrance, 2005).

the west border of Togo and the British colonial Gold Coast of Ghana. Boundaries were established at the eastern border in 1899 between the Germans and the French who controlled the Dahomey (Benin). Togoland, the sole German economically self-sustaining colonial possession in West Africa received significant infrastructure including roads, railways, and agricultural developments under the German administration (Knoll, 1978). Following World War I, the German colonies were handed to Britain and France whose colonies were respectively the Gold coast (Ghana) and Dahomey (Benin) (Nugent, 2002). Britain received an administrative mandate over the western half (British Togoland) and France controlled the eastern half (French Togoland and, today, Togo).

German Togoland before attribution to Great Britain and France post WWI



Source: Mapsland (2019)

In a referendum held in 1956, voters in British Togoland opted to join the British Gold Coast, which was on the verge of becoming independent. Goeh-Akue (2005) observed:

“Togo nationals did not hide their sympathy for British culture. Traditionally residents had gone to the British colony of the Gold Coast (Ghana) to study, work, or shop. A significant number of laborers from French Togo landed regularly in either the urban centers of the Gold Coast or the cocoa plantations.”

The Gold Coast became independent Ghana in 1957 and this land mass included British Togoland. The following year, French Togoland released a manifesto of immediate independence upon electoral victory of the Committee for the Togolese Union. In 1960, French Togoland became fully independent and became the Togolese Republic with the southerner Sylvanus Olympio as president (Stokes and Gorman, 2009:693).

3 years after Togo's independence, southerner president Olympio was assassinated in a military insurgents led by another southerner; Nicolas Grunitzky (Decalo, 1990; Encyclopedia Americana, 2002:810). Four years later, the northerner Gnassingbe Eyadema, a veteran in various colonial wars and head of the military regime led a coup against Nicolas Grunitzky (ibid.). After Eyadema left the troops and returned to Togo in 1962 some apparent irregularities in the payment of military pensions from the French army were noticed. Ethnic discrimination occurred and unemployment among former soldiers led to the first coup d'état in 1963 (Wurster, 2005; 2003). Antoine Meatchi, representing the north and Nicolas Grunitzky, representing the south were to share leadership of the country. However, personal ambitions combined with growing interference from the army caused an economic and political crisis which ended in a second coup attempted by the former leaders of Olympio's party (CUT). The army intervened in support of the Grunitzky government, then took over itself after a few months of political crisis. This culminated in Gnassingbé Eyadema's presidency beginning in 1967 (ibid.). During Eyadema's 38 years in power, presidential elections were frequently condemned by the opposition and international observers as fraudulent (Stokes and Gorman, 2009:693). In 1979, the president, leader of the only political party, the Rally of the Togolese People (RPT), declared a "third republic" and introduced a new constitution providing for an elected National Assembly to serve as a consultative body (ibid.). This led to protests in the early 1980s followed by a coup that failed in 1985 (ibid.). In 1990, multiparty political parties were introduced, and a bloody struggle occurred between the

RPT and the opposition groups (ibid.). The violence paralyzed the economy and 300,000 Togolese sought shelter in Benin and Ghana (Culturegrams, 1998). In 1991 a national forum between the leading party and other opposing political groups discussed constitutional reforms. However, they failed to reaffirm a multiparty system (Stokes and Gorman, 2009:693). The opposing parties, mainly southerners, fought amongst themselves for leadership and political turbulence made tensions grow between civilians and protesters while the military remained loyal to the president since he initially was 'one of theirs' (ibid.). Many died in 1993, and presidential elections were boycotted resulting in another term for the president whose party narrowly won the national assembly (ibid.). In 1998 the presidential term won by Eyadema was once again condemned by opposing parties as fraudulent (Reuters, 2013). These accusations were attributed to the suspension of vote counting which cast doubt on the result. Eyadema's main challenger Gilchrist Olympio, the son of Sylvanus Olympio, was living in exile at the time¹⁴⁷ (ibid.). In 1999 opposing parties' boycott to vote in the national assembly led to new elections in 2002 (under the supervision of an election commission staffed by RPT and opposition representatives). The results were also considered corrupt by opposing parties (ibid.). Eyadema died in February 2005 and was replaced by his son, Faure Gnassingbe with the support of the army (ibid.). In April 2005, following Faure Gnassingbe's victory in the presidential elections requested by nationals and the international community, new violent protests left hundreds of deaths (AI, 2005). A consultation between the leading party and opposition leaders led to the formation of a transitional government in 2006, and international observers judged elections held in 2007 to be fair and transparent (Reuters, 2013).

¹⁴⁷ Before 2013, Olympio's son Gilchrist is sentenced to death in absentia (banned) for his part in the coup attempts between 1977 and 1986. (Reuters, 2013).

2.5.3 Uncovering politico-ethnic discords: clash of cultures and social fragmentation

The political unrest in Togo reportedly pitted predominant cultural groups of the south and the north against each other in the aftermath of country's independence¹⁴⁸. The terminologies 'cultural group' and 'ethnic group' are often used interchangeably though certain studies emphasize the complexities/nuances of the term "ethnicity" in African studies¹⁴⁹. These notions which will not be further discussed here.

In the colonial dispatch of African territories, new multi-ethnic groups emerged and developed alongside a set of diverging traditional beliefs. They originated from the Ashanti (west of Togo) and Dahomey (east of Togo) empires. Without consultation, communities with different organizational/institutional patterns were expected to share the same foreign constitutional fate. The new counterintuitive social paradigm led to governance discrepancies in terms of discordant norms, ideologies and mystical philosophies. This confusion brought about by the brutal redefinition of social structures was the start of a long and violent conflict in the new political landscape. Ethnic groups which were migrating from south Burkina Faso north of Togo conflicted with preexisting populations in northern Togo but populations eventually mixed. It was therefore difficult to discern mixed groups from alliances (Decalo, 1987). Similarly, Population alliances in the north and in the south resulted in two great political blocs: South Togo and North Togo. The Ewe

¹⁴⁸ "While investigating in Togo, easily I must admit, for the population is nice, amiable and helpful I understood that the misfortunes of that nation were mainly – contrary to the ideas- well thought- received-victim of the practices inherited from the colonizers and the protectors of Togo." (Jean-Pierre Van Geirt (2006 in Amidou (2007:22))

¹⁴⁹ Reid (2011) spoke of a clear bias on the subject of ethnicity and suggested this was an illustration of 'the hegemony of present past in African studies: "Identities were plural, overlapping, simultaneous, and characterized by considerable mobility. Professions of identification or loyalty were wholly contingent on context and current circumstances. Only during colonial rule was ethnicity seen as 'invented'-first through the European creation of 'tribes'...and then through African appropriation of such identities. This colonial 'imagining' has blinded us to the very real possibilities of pre-modern links to the present, and to very real continuities in African identities from the pre-colonial past".

and Mina dominated the south¹⁵⁰. After independence, when the first president Olympio and his successor Nicolas Grunitzky (both southerners) held power, the political elite was dominated by the Ewe (southerners) and the Ewe culture became the mold for the national Togolese identity (Wurster, 2005[2003]). The north was excluded in political and economic¹⁵¹ matters (ibid.). This socio-political landscape changed when Eyadema, a northerner (Kabyè) came to power in 1967. As he was in the army that supported him through his entire presidency, he made the military an attractive employment option¹⁵² and arable land available for agriculture for northerners. The military therefore remained loyal to him¹⁵³.

2.5.4 Corruptions' historic ties with politico-ethnic discords

Long-standing political allegiance has mitigated the tensions between the northern and southern political blocs and encouraged nepotism¹⁵⁴. A key criteria for voting for a presidential candidate was cultural affiliation. Each voter expects the president to share their set of cultural values. However, the 2010 presidential elections indicated a gradual

¹⁵⁰ The population consists of 90% African and 1% Europeans, Syrians, and Lebanese; 37 tribal/ethnic groups exist, the mains being the Ewe, Mina, Kabyè, and Kotokoli. Others comprise the Losso, Moba, Gourma, Akposso, Ana, Lamba, Ehoué, Konkomba, Solla, and Bassar (CIA, 2015).

¹⁵¹ As the prime agents of the Explorers and slave traders, the Ewe people on the coastline had been for long involved in different trades and complex activities (ibid.)

¹⁵² In 2018 Togo was amongst SSA countries with the highest military expenditure/capita with 2% of GDP against 1.1% for SSA average and 2.1% worldwide (WB, 2019). The highest in Togo was 4% during the 1993 violent political instability (ibid.)

¹⁵³ The security forces are dominated by northern ethnics groups, while commerce and the professions tend to be preserve of southerners. Most political parties are dominated by southerners, expect for the pro-Eyadema party. Ethnic rivalries dating from precolonial times have been exacerbated by the civil unrest of recent years and inadequate law enforcement. The constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of ethnic group, regional or family origin, sex, religion, social or economic status, or personal political or other convictions. Legal mechanisms exist for redress of discrimination complaints, but there are not very effective. Private sector discrimination on the basis of ethnic groups and gender, while not officially sanctioned, is common." (USGPO, 1994)

¹⁵⁴ "It was still necessary for an individual to belong to inside political circles, dominated by the ruling party, to be nominated to any influential position within the judiciary. Independent lawyers can find it difficult to manage their own law firms, as the chances for success in court cases are much lower for them than for colleagues who are friendly with the regime...Although a national anti-corruption commission (CNLCSE) was formed in 2001, the government lacks the political will to effectively combat corruption" (ibid.)

departure from ethnic and regional voting trends¹⁵⁵. The trend is increasingly changing as many northerners now feel overlooked by both the southern opposition and the governing northerners that attempt to appease conflicts by sharing power among the political elites of both groups. These north/south tensions, corruptive acts and nepotism have compromised productive governance. Informal payments to public official concerned 6.2% of firms in 2016 compared to 16.79% in 2009 (WB, 2019). The young academia lacks the financial means and access to powerful social networks and it has lost faith in fairness/justice. The prevalence of nepotism over skill and competitiveness results in inequality in resources distribution and access to opportunities. Consequently many Togolese trade their competence abroad¹⁵⁶. Despite cultural divergences, patriotism is observable during international sport events. That is the case with the influential women traders of manufactured textiles known as Nana Benz who defend Togolese sellers by calling for limits to market access for “foreigners”. The group is apprehensive of growing competition from Chinese and Nigerian traders (BTI, 2016). Togo is one of the poorest states in West Africa despite the absence of a chronic civil war. The World Bank’s Doing Business report (2016) ranked Togo the 150th poorest nation out of the 189 countries. The 2015 index of economic freedom ranks Togo high in terms of applying the rule of law. It is ranked 127th when it comes to freedom from corruption, 94th in terms of property rights and 56th in terms of government spending. On business, labor, monetary, fiscal, trade, investment, and financial freedoms it is ranked 148th, 158th, 49th, 138th, 142nd, 109th,

¹⁵⁵ “Although the incumbent won all 24 prefectures in the four northern regions, and the opposition carried the seven prefectures of the densely populated Maritime region, the election results revealed a gradual departure from established ethnic, regional or north-south patterns. Both the president and the opposition gained historic votes in the former heartland of their adversary” (ibid.).

¹⁵⁶ Takyi (2009, 2002) observed:” the African immigrant community in the U. S. includes significant numbers of highly educated people. It is the unique composition of the diaspora African-the brain-drain-that continues to dominate the discourse on contemporary African immigration (Carrington & Detragiache, 1999; Docquer & Bhargava, 2006). Nowhere is the brain drain more evident than in the educational and health sectors (Coombes, 2005). For example, Ghana has produced a lot of health care workers but as a result of emigration. Dovlo (2003) noted: “a vacancy rate of 47% for doctors and 57%for nurses in Ghana’s health institutions as of 2002. The same pattern has been reported for many SSA countries. The loss of health and other professionals have made it difficult for governments to improve the health status of the people, and higher education for those in the rural and urban areas. But this is one aspect of the migration-development nexus as pertains to Africa.” In Togo no data were available but the trends is informed as being the same by healthcare stakeholders interviewed in the course of the study.

and 131st respectively. According to the IMF (2019): “in recent years the Togolese government has established several important institutions to tackle corruption, including the anti-corruption agency (HAPLUCIA, Haute Autorité de Prévention et de Lutte contre la Corruption et les Infractions Assimilées) that became operational in 2017. New anti-corruption legislation has also been adopted or is under preparation, including a requirement of asset declarations for all civil servants who are professionally or politically exposed to risks of corruption. The challenge is now to enforce the anti-corruption legislation.” On the 2019 Corruption perceptions index, Transparency International (2019) ranked Togo 130/180 with a score¹⁵⁷ of 29/100.

2.5.5 Family and household patterns: size, configuration

Despite ethnic differences, intermarriages exist, and couples sometimes live together before marriage, despite the disapproval of the most conservative (Culturegrams, 2014). Weddings may be traditional, religious, and/or civil (UNstats, 2015). Civil marriages are more common in urban than rural areas where illiteracy and customary law and religious practices prevail. As many marriages are not formally registered, many divorces are never legalized (ibid.). Polygynist polygamous union (man with multiple wives) regardless of religion is recognized/ by the Togolese individuals and family code¹⁵⁸ (UNstats, 2019). Couples are allowed to choose between polygamy and monogamy at the outset of their marriage (Pew research center, 2019). The legitimacy of polygamy is relatively determinant in household size¹⁵⁹ as polygamy is also a cultural practice (ibid.). Officially

¹⁵⁷ A country or territory's score indicates the perceived level of public sector corruption on a scale of 0 (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean) (Transparency International, 2019).

¹⁵⁸ Noticeably neighbors Benin, Ivory Coast, Ghana or Nigeria and Cabo Verde formally prohibit polygamy (OECD, 2019). In Nigeria, polygamy is banned at the national level, but recognized by the 12 northern states regulated by Shariah law (Pew research center, 2019).

¹⁵⁹ In Togo the average household size is 6.8 (Christians 5.8, Muslims 8.1, unaffiliated 7.2) with households being 17% polygamous (8% Christian, 26% Muslims, 18% unaffiliated), 36% extended (41% Christian, 34% Muslims, 33% unaffiliated) and 29% two-parent (29% Christian, 28% Muslims, 33% unaffiliated) (ibid.)

Civil law prevails over customary/traditional laws but it is the opposite concretely (UNstats, 2019). Christianity introduced by missionaries in Africa in the 18th century (Falen, 2008) and the French –molded civil code in Togo influenced the reduction of polygamous norms (Fenske, 2015) but did not eradicate them (UNstats, 2015).

Infidelity amongst men is common and openly practiced because extramarital relationships are culturally tolerated for men, but Christians are discreet about this (Culturegrams, 2014). It is expected from husbands to financially support wife/wives and children, household repairs or care for livestock whereas a wife/wives' roles encompass give birth, raise and educate children, manage household chores (cooking, cleaning, fetching water, washing clothes, cooking, food, etc.) (ibid.). Children are expected to help with house work, and take care of their ageing parents and siblings (ibid.). Men can marry additional wives without prior consent from their current(s) wife/wives, and nearly half of Togolese women are in polygamous marriages (ibid.). Presumably polygyny would be less common amongst educated and urban women but it reportedly has adapted to urban and educated environment (OECD, 2019). Large families are traditionally encouraged regardless of the economic conditions of the household. The average number of individuals in a household is 6.8 people (Pew Research center, 2019). In 2017, the fertility rate was estimated to be 4.4 children/woman (WB, 2019). 32% of women were in demand for family planning in 2014 against 26% in 2010; 12% in 1998 and 4.2% in 1988 (ibid.).

2.5.6 Demographic framework

In 2013, the percentage of children married by the age of 15 was 5.8, and children married by the age of 18 was 25.2 (UNICEF, 2015). In 2014, women who were first married by age 18 were 22% and 5.5% by age 15 and only 30% of women age 15-49 were making their own informed decisions regarding sexual relations, contraceptive use and reproductive health care (WB, 2019). Togo's population is growing at a much higher rate than the global

average. The annual population growth for 2013-2030 is 2.3% with a birth rate of 34.13 births/1,000 population (UNICEF, 2015). Togo is ranked 17th in terms of population growth worldwide and 29th in terms of birth rates (CIA, 2016). The population is 0.98 male/female and the mother's mean age at the time of her first birth is 21.

The contraception prevalence rate in 2010 was only 15.2% whilst the maternal mortality rate was 368 deaths/100,000 live births. The infant mortality rate (under the age of 1 year) was 45.22/1000 birth (ibid.). Life expectancy at birth was 60.489 in Togo and 60.88 average in SSA. 41% were aged 0-14, 56% aged 15-64 years, 2.8% aged 65 years+ in 2018 (WB, 2019). The median age in 2016 was 19.6 years, with 60% of the population aged under 24 (CIA, 2016). Some 32.37% were aged between 25-54 years and 7, 5% were aged 55 years and over. The death rate was 7.26 deaths/1,000 population (ibid.).

In 2014-2015, the adult prevalence HIV/AIDS was 2.5% making Togo the 20th most affected country. The number of deaths due to malaria has decreased by 6% in 2015 (1,127 deaths in 2015 as against 1,205 in 2014) (SDG, 2017). 41.7% of the total population is urban, with an annual rate of urbanization at 3.75% (WB, 2019). The mortality rate (attributed to unsafe water, unsafe sanitation and lack of hygiene per 100,000 people) is 41.6¹⁶⁰ (WB, 2019). According to the IFPRI (2013) the Togolese population approximately doubled between 1985 and 2010, with increasing urbanization¹⁶¹. The overall population growth rate has been slightly declining since 1980¹⁶². All major urban areas have population densities of between 100–500 people/km², while rural areas have a density of between 20–100 people/km². Higher population densities continue to present serious

¹⁶⁰ Mortality rate attributed to unsafe water, unsafe sanitation and lack of hygiene is deaths attributable to unsafe water, sanitation and hygiene focusing on inadequate WASH services per 100,000 population. Death rates are calculated by dividing the number of deaths by the total population. In this estimate, only the impact of diarrheal diseases, intestinal nematode infections, and protein-energy malnutrition are taken into account. According to the World Health Organization, in addition to diarrhea, the following diseases could be prevented if adequate WASH services are provided: malnutrition, intestinal nematode infections, lymphatic filariasis, trachoma, schistosomiasis and malaria (WB, 2019).

¹⁶¹ 41.7% of the population lived in urban areas in 2018 (WB, 2019).

¹⁶² According to the World Bank (2017) the population growth rate was 3% between 1960 -1969, and 2.6% between 1970 and 1979. It was 3.6% between 1980 and 1989, 2.8% between 1990 and 1999 and 2.6% between 2000 and 2008. In 2014 the annual population growth rate was 2.7% and 2.5% in 2017.

challenges to the Togolese government with regards to providing essential infrastructure and social services for people. Meanwhile, the largely human labor-intensive agricultural activity in rural areas has experienced a dwindling labor force. As of 2016, around 2.8 million people live in Togo's towns and cities, a 160.0% increase between 1990 and 2014. This represents some 39.5% of the total population in 2014 (AFDB et al., 2016). This figure is an increase from 28.6% in 1990 and is expected to reach 50.0% by 2030 (ibid.).

2.5.7 Age, gender, criticism, language and religiousness

2.5.7.1 *Hierarchy of age*

Age is sacred and has implications for the work environment. Thus the youth is largely underrepresented¹⁶³. Broadly, one avoids eye contact with elders, custodians of traditions (Culturegrams, 2014). It is customary to kneel to greet elders or chiefs, and items are passed to elders with both hands (ibid.). Friends and family members address each other by their first name when of the same age, or in relationships such as “older brother's wife” or “mother-in-law” (ibid.). Adult brothers, sisters and cousins, half-siblings and people related by marriage or from the same village refer to each other as younger/older “brother” or “sister” And children call adults uncle, auntie, daddy or mommy to show respect, even if they are not related (ibid.). Historically children and the youth in general are not a priority at both micro and macro levels¹⁶⁴. This includes meeting their dietary needs¹⁶⁵. Since 2007 the government implemented the child code and social programs to provide

¹⁶³ To illustrate that the youth in charge is not customary in Togo, here is what a case study by the FAO (2014:94) reported: “When the first Togolese National Farmers Forum (NFF) was held in 2009, one young participant, Eloi Tegba Toi, noticed that almost all the others were over 40 years old, and he began to explore ways to increase youth participation in the agricultural development of Togo. He approached the National Youth Council (CNJ) and with their support managed to organize a meeting with 140 young farmers representing all 35 prefectures of Togo. However, the meeting's recommendation to establish a national network of young farmers was not implemented due to lack of means.” Reportedly, as of 2014 the situation has improved as a result of Eloi's initiative and action taken by the president. The youth network counts 1 403 member organizations and around 14 751 individual members, of which 5 502 are women from the whole of Togo (ibid.).

¹⁶⁴ The government devotes few resources to children's welfare...Orphans and other needy children are sided more by extended families or private organizations than by the State. (USGPO, 1994).

¹⁶⁵ When meat is comprised in a meal for instance, the father receives the most important share (Culturegrams, 2014).

free health care for poor children¹⁶⁶. Government works with NGOs on public awareness of child abuse, a widespread issue as laws prohibiting child prostitution/sexual exploitation was not effectively enforced (U.S.DS, 2019). Girls generally help their mothers with housework and boys may be put in charge of herding livestock or helping with farm work¹⁶⁷. In financially struggling households academic education was primarily reserved to boys and girls may be send out to work as maid for instance (USGPO, 1994). From 2007, education became free and compulsory until age 15¹⁶⁸. The abolition of school being pro-poor, as more children were going to school (net enrollment reaching 94% in 2016/2017), other spatial and gender inequalities reduced (Hoogeveen and Rossi, 2019). Dropout however become problematic when school fees are no longer free¹⁶⁹. Reportedly some parents freely gave their children in marriage¹⁷⁰ (ibid.). In the civil code art. 43 the age to be considered an adult is 20 and 18 years respectively for men and women (UNstats, 2015). However, when exceptions are granted by the president of the court or the judge of the section, a minor can contract a marriage with the authorization of his parents or his tutor (art.45) (ibid.).

¹⁶⁶ In 2007 the government implemented the country's first child code, which provides for the protection of children's economic, psychological, and moral rights and includes national and international standards intended to protect children. The code prohibits child trafficking, child prostitution, child pornography, the employment of children in armed conflict and other worst forms of child labor, including the selling of children for sexual exploitation, forced labor, or servitude. Government efforts to implement the code resulted in the release in 2009 of hundreds of children from service as assistants to traditional healers. A 2009 ILO program continued to raise awareness of and rescue children from enforced labor. In 2009 the government established a toll-free line for persons to report cases of child abuse and to seek help. The line provides free information on the rights of the child and legal procedures. The government also established school curriculum to educate children on human rights and, working with UNICEF, trained teachers on children's rights. (U.S.DS, 2011).

¹⁶⁷ In 2010, 89.5% of children age 7-14 were unpaid family workers (World Bank, 2018).

¹⁶⁸ The reengagement of international donors (after the limited assistance provided between 1991 and 2007 due to political instabilities) led to the abolition of school fees in 2007. A free-fee education policy was already established in the 1992 Constitution, but remained unimplemented. In 2000, tuition fees for girls were reduced, to encourage their enrollment. In 2007-2008, all primary-school fees were abolished (Hoogeveen and Rossi, 2019). School enrollment in 2018 was 124% in Togo and 98% in SSA and in 2018 expected years of schooling (12.32) were higher compared to the SSA (UNDP, 2019).

¹⁶⁹ Children age 15-29: 19.6% in school and 29.8% employed of which 12.1% employed and in school, 3.1% unemployed with 1.1% in school (EPDC, 2014). Although 92% of boys and 85% of girls started primary school, only an estimated 58% of boys and 41% of girls finished. For secondary school, the net enrollment was 34% for boys and 12% for girls, but only 19% of boys and 9% of girls completed secondary school. (UNICEF, 2010; USDS, 2011).

¹⁷⁰ "The legal age for marriage is 18 for girls and 20 for boys, although both may marry under these ages with parental consent. According to a 2015 UNICEF report, 25 percent of women between the ages of 20 and 24 were married or in a union before age 18, and 6 percent were married or in a union before age 15. The practice significantly declined in recent years. Underage marriage rates were highest in the Savannah Region at 61 percent, followed by the Plateau Region at 37 percent, the Kara Region at 36 percent, the Central Region at 31 percent, and the Maritime Region at 29 percent." (USDS, 2019).

2.5.7.2 Hierarchy of gender

Although men and women are technically equal before the law, men clearly dominate Togolese society¹⁷¹. Men are families' principal decision-makers (art.99) (UNstats, 2015). Generally, only men engage in public discussion but if the discussion relates to the whole family, women and children may be present but cannot speak unless invited to do so (Culturegrams, 2014). In some urban areas, women are beginning to talk and eat in the company of men (ibid.). The percentage of women (age 15-49) participating in the three decisions (own health care, major household purchases, and visiting family) was 29.4% in 2014 and 12% in 1998 (WB, 2019). The hierarchies that polygyny creates amongst wives reinforces the ideology of male superiority ¹⁷²(ibid.). Women are especially courteous to their husbands and, traditionally rural women kneel to speak to them. Interestingly in 2014, 29% of women against 53% in 2006 believe a husband is justified in beating his wife when she argued with him, refused sex, burned food, neglected the children, or went out without his approval (WB, 2019).

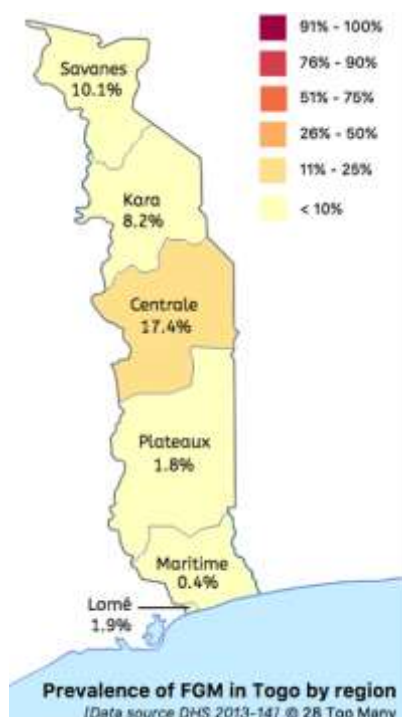
FGM (Female Genital Mutilation) or circumcision, reported at 4.7% in 2014 and 5.8% in 2006, is performed at an early age and is practiced by a few ethnic groups in Togo's northern and central regions (WB, 2009; USGPO, 1994). FGM is usually performed few months after birth, has greatly diminished after its prohibition by law in 1998, but it endures in a few communities (commonly Muslim) where tradition prevails over the French-molded legal system¹⁷³ and in rural areas with poor awareness of rights (ibid.).

¹⁷¹ In Togo, female-headed households experience higher rates of poverty than male-headed households—57.5% against 55%. Vulnerability is higher among women because they have fewer economic opportunities and are under-represented at high levels of decision making (WB, 2018). Women continue to experience discrimination in education, pension benefits, and inheritance as a consequence of traditional law. (U.S.DS, 2011).

¹⁷² The labor code on equal pay for equal work, was observed only in the formal sector. (USDS, 2011). "Notwithstanding constitutional protections and economic and social rights, including maternity leave benefits, set forth in the Family Code... in practice women continue to be subjected to discriminations, especially in education, pension benefits, and traditional law. A husband may legally oppose his wife's right to work and assert control over her salary...In the urban economic sphere, women dominate both local market activities and commerce with Togo's neighbors, often amassing considerable wealth in the process. However harsh economic conditions in rural areas, where most of the population lives, leave women with little time for anything other than taxing domestic and agricultural field work." (USGPO, 1994)

¹⁷³ The government continued to sponsor educational seminars against FGM. Several NGOs, with international assistance, organized campaigns to educate women of their rights and on how to care for victims of FGM (U.S.DS, 2011).

FGM/C is performed on 3% of girls and women (age 15-49) and 1% girls and young women (age 15-19) on national average (UNICEF, 2015; USDS, 2015).



In addition, the 2011 QUIBB survey indicated that 34.2% of women who seek medical treatment do so on the decision of men and 30.2% of women cover the cost of their care without help from their husbands (IMF, 2014). It is also indicated that domestic violence¹⁷⁴ remains commonplace in Togo (ibid.).

Women rarely initiate divorce, as divorced women face discrimination in society (Culturegrams, 2014). Fewer stigmas are associated with divorced men. As marriage grants women and their children rights they would not have otherwise¹⁷⁵ (OECD, 2019), women must rely on men to support them and their children financially. Further, in Togo, under traditional law a wife had no maintenance or child support rights in the event of divorce or separation and no inheritance rights upon the death of her husband (USDS,

¹⁷⁴ Gender-Based Violence (GBV) can be added to the long list of factors that increase maternal, neonatal, and infant mortality. GBV is a grave social and public health problem with dangerous consequences on the reproductive health and well-being of young women (IMF, 2014).

¹⁷⁵ If a couple is not legally married, a woman has no right to children or possessions in the event of a divorce. She generally has no choice but to return to live with her family (Culturegrams, 2014).

2011). In 2014 Togo revised semantics of the Code of Persons and the Family to eliminate discrimination based on gender in matters of marriage and inheritance (AFDB, 2015). For instance, article 99, which stated: "Man is the head of the family" becomes "The management of the family is provided by the spouses." (ibid.). Though, women generally eat after men, and may eat with their children, or on their own, or with their husband's other wives. This trend however is changing amongst young urban couples¹⁷⁶.

In rural areas, women work submissively in the fields with/without their husband who however controls their wife's money and time (OECD, 2019). A study on Ivory Coast discovered that conditional on wealth, polygyny increases/decreases as in rural areas polygyny declines during agricultural development because female productivity is less needed (Jacoby, 1995). Togo has no specific laws prohibiting domestic violence and abused women have little recourse and are often reluctant to report abuse¹⁷⁷. While the 1984 presidential decree states that harassment is illegal (specifically harassment of female students) and can be taken to court, no specific punishment is prescribed and authorities did not enforce the decree (USDS, 2011). The law condemns rape but does not specifically criminalize spousal rape whereas victims are reluctant to report rape due to the social stigma associated with being raped and fear of reprisal (ibid.). Women often earn money by selling goods on markets or out of their homes by working as midwives, seamstresses, hairdressers, and waitresses¹⁷⁸. The money they earn is primarily used to support their children and men often spend money they earn on household items and leisure activities. They can own property with no special restrictions and do not experience economic discrimination in access to employment, credit, or managing a business (ibid.). As many

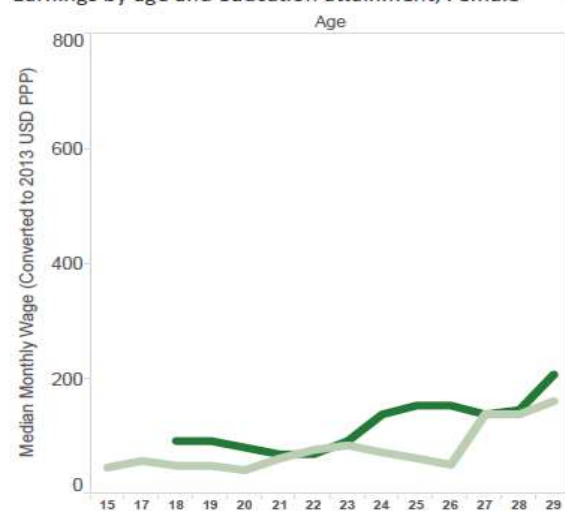
¹⁷⁶ On the gender inequality index (GII) Togo had value of 0.566 in 2018 (0.736 in 1995) (UNDP, 2019).

¹⁷⁷ Police generally did not intervene in abusive situations, and women were unaware of the formal judicial mechanisms designed to protect them (U.S.DS, 2011). "Violence against women including wife beating occurs in Togo...Mechanisms exist within both the traditional extended family and formal judicial structures for redress but the police rarely intervene in domestic violence cases...Local houses of prostitution exist" (USGPO, 1994)

¹⁷⁸ In the urban economy "women dominate both local market activities and commerce with Togo's neighbors, often amassing considerable wealth in the process. However harsh economic conditions in rural areas, where most of the population lives, leave women with little time for anything other than taxing domestic and agricultural field work." (USGPO, 1994)

women have no experience of higher education, there are fewer women working in formal sectors and in government¹⁷⁹ where equal pay should be enforced (AFDB et al., 2015).

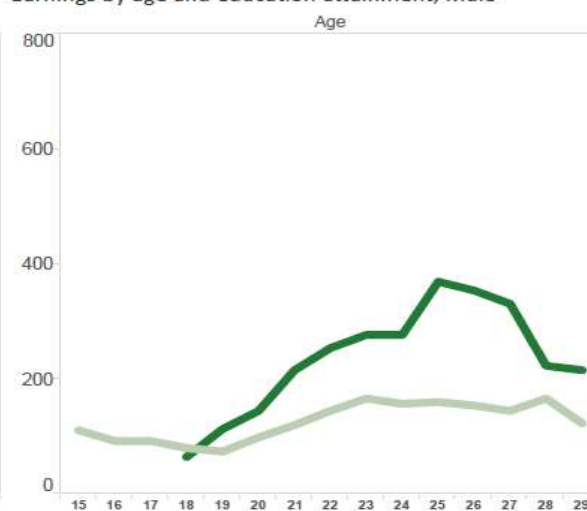
Earnings by age and education attainment, Female



Graph shows the median monthly wage in 2013 US Dollars (PPP) by single year ages, for different levels of education. Note that single-age estimates may lack precision.

Education
Primary or less
Secondary or higher

Earnings by age and education attainment, Male



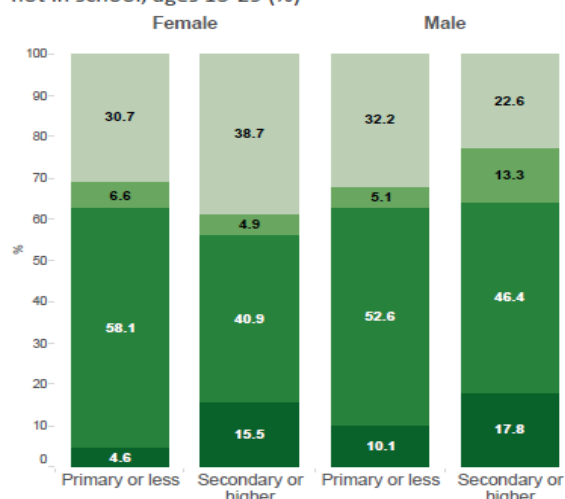
Graph shows the median monthly wage in 2013 US Dollars (PPP) by single year ages, for different levels of education. Note that single-age estimates may lack precision.

Education
Primary or less
Secondary or higher

Gender

Status
Inactivity
Unemployment
Employment
Salaried employment

Labor force status by education attainment and gender, not in school, ages 15-29 (%)



Graph shows the percentage of youth who are not currently in school, and who are either in salaried employment, non-salaried employment, unemployed and looking for work, or inactive and not in the labor force.

Earnings by age and education attainment, Female

Source: Education policy and data center (2014)

Transition length in months, by education attainment and gender (#)



Length of time in months between finishing school and starting first job. Those who started first job before finishing schooling are excluded from the calculation.

Earnings by age and education attainment, Male

¹⁷⁹ In Togo, 17.6% of parliamentary seats are held by women, and 26.3% of adult women have reached at least a secondary level of education compared to 52.5% of their male counterparts (UNDP, 2017). The proportion of women in public-sector jobs (2.2%) was lower than that of men (8.6%). In addition, the proportion of unemployed women (9.0%) was twice as high as that of unemployed men (4.3%). (AFDB, 2015). According to the 2011 QUIBB survey, in the public sector the proportion of women employed full-time is lower than that of men (64.6% and 84.6% respectively). Similarly, the percentage of women with full-time employment in the private sector (15.2%) is lower than that of men in this sector (35.1%) (IMF, 2014).

There are few women in decision making bodies. However the 12.5% of 91 parliamentary seats occupied by women in 2008, decreased to 11.1% in 2012 (op. cit.), 15.4% in 2013, 18.8% in 2018 (AFDB, 2019). While there are no women in the 35-strong membership prefectural body, the percentage of women represented in the government being 26.7% (AFDB, 2015). The percentage of female ministers increased from 16.7% in 2016 to 21.7% in 2017 but was 21.9% in 2011 with 11% of female legislators (IMF, 2014). Although women account for over 50% of the active population and occupy 70% of the commercial activities of the informal sector as the fourth census in Togo, their total income is three times lower than that of men¹⁸⁰. The share of monetary income generated by the farming sector which is principally resourced by women is only 10%, although they occupy 53.4% of employment. In 2012 the government abolished female circumcision and submitted a bill to parliament to grant male-female parity in elected positions (AFDB, 2015).

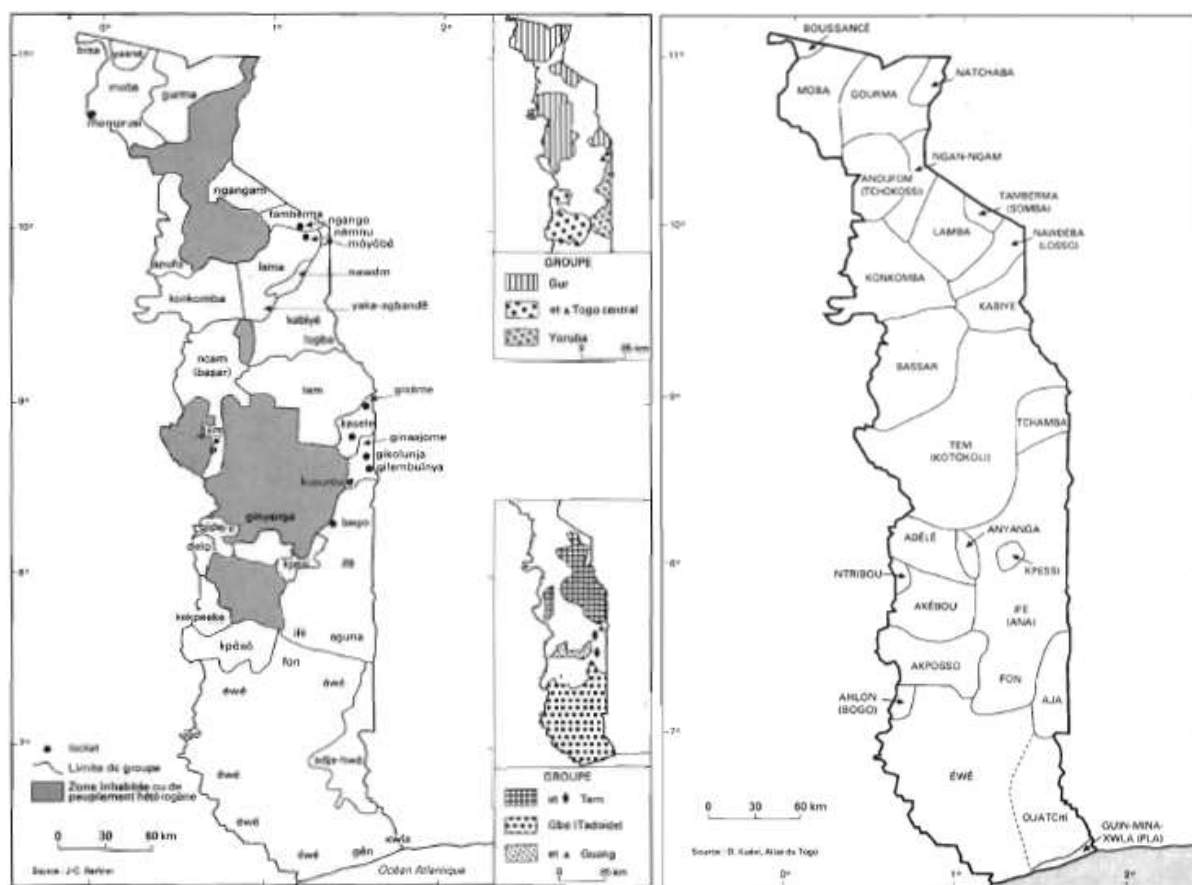
2.5.7.3 Criticism

In general, the Togolese find criticism to be impolite and rude in public (Culturegrams, 2014). Additionally, due to the tense political environment and the holiness of traditions, the fear of criticizing openly has remained constant through the generations. According to the BTI (2014), “In mid-2012, freedom of expression in Togo experienced a setback with the passage in parliament of a new media bill that allows the government to revoke, suspend or withdraw the media license of organizations whose activities are deemed to be, as defined by the state, ‘dangerous to national security and unity’ or contain ‘serious errors.’ The country’s Press Freedom Index ranking slightly improved from 72 (2009) to 69 (2012), but globally press freedom in Togo to be “not free.” In 2011, a new bill on the

¹⁸⁰ The traditions and cultural beliefs in Togo impact negatively on girls’ access to the education system and level of women’s representation in the public service. Women are less literate (50%) than men (77%), and the net secondary enrolment ratio is lower for girls (36.7%) than for boys (48.8%). Some 76.9% of civil servants and 75.4% of the staff in State corporations are men. Women hold only 15% of the seats in the Parliament, 17% of ministerial positions and none of the 35 prefectural positions in Togo (ibid).

right to freedom of association and assembly was adopted in parliament by the RPT/UFC majority and introduced as part of the coalition agreement to replace colonial regulations that were often used in the past to suppress opponents of the regime. Out of 180 countries worldwide Togo ranked 83th in 2013 to 76 in 2019 (RSF, 2020). Even though guarantees, and the protection of freedom of assembly and association have improved since 2007, many limitations, particularly over the right of assembly, persist (ibid.).

2.5.7.4 Multilingualism and religious backdrops



Source: Gayibor (1997)

Multilingualism and multiculturalism: At least 36 languages and numerous dialects are spoken across (CIA, 2016) Togo. Togolese within their community speak their specific language or vernaculars/dialects. French, the official language is mandatory in schools, or

used among different linguistic groups (Worldatlas, 2019; Culturegrams, 2014). The two main national languages are the southern Mina and Northern Kabye¹⁸¹ whereas Kotokoli is common in the center and north of the country (ibid.). Mina, the most spoken language, is used in commerce in the South and common throughout the country. Ghanaian and Nigerian traders speak Hausa, French and English in commerce on markets¹⁸².

Religion: Having interacted the most with Portuguese traders and European missionaries/colonists, the coastal ethnic groups first adopted Christianity. Today, Christianity is spread throughout the country¹⁸³ with no clear-cuts. Islam¹⁸⁴ in the north was nurtured by the proximity with the predominantly Muslim Burkina-Faso with the largest share of polygamous households in SSA (36%) (Pew research center, 2019). Vodun/ Voodoo, (beliefs in animate/inanimate beings and spirits and ancestors) or folk religion is practiced by both Christians and Muslims. Traditional rituals protect homes from enemy curses and sicknesses. Many villages have a god/fetish that communicates with a supreme higher being (Culturegrams, 2014). To bring rain, wellbeing and many other goods, animal sacrifices are made to call ancestors, and fetishes are considered to be a strong link between humans and the Supreme Being (ibid.).

¹⁸¹ The Kabyè people with other northern groups (Kotokoli and Moba) prominent in the north speak Sudanic languages. Their languages and Islamic influenced cultures distinguish them from the people of the south who were first exposed to Christianity (Worldatlas, 2019).

¹⁸² Due to its close proximity to, and shared history with Ghana Togo has many Mina speakers who have adapted the language to English greetings, for example: Moning (Good morning), Gudey (Good afternoon), and Gudivin (Good evening) (Culturegrams, 2014)

¹⁸³ Christian 42.3%, folk 36.9%, Muslim 14%, Hindu <.1%, Buddhist <.1%, Jewish <.1%, other, unaffiliated 6.2%. Fertility rate in SSA (4.8%) per religious group 2010- 2015 was Muslim 5.6%, Christian 4.5, Folk religions 5.1%, unaffiliated 4.3%. As a result, the two dominant religions in the region – Christianity and Islam – both are expected to have more than twice as many adherents in 2050 as in 2010 (Pew Research center, 2019).

¹⁸⁴ Christianity was introduced by the Portuguese who arrived in Togo during the middle of the 15th century introduced Roman Catholicism in the country. Later, when the Germans arrived in Togo in the late 19th century, Protestantism became popular in the country. The work of Christian missionaries helped spread the faith among the masses. Most of Togo's Christians are Roman Catholics and the remaining are Protestants or belong to other denominations... Islam was introduced in the country by the various Muslim immigrants who arrived in the country from other parts of Africa. However, most of the indigenous Muslims of Togo still adhere to their traditional beliefs. There has also been a recent influx of Muslim immigrants from Nigeria and Lebanon in Togo. (Worldatlas, 2019)

2.5.8 Governance and rule of law

Earth priests/traditional chiefs still wield a strong influence at the local level. However, their role as guardians of tradition and customary laws, as enshrined in the constitution, has not yet been determined by the national decentralization program (PNCD) initiated by the government in 2004 (BTI, 2014). No indicators have been selected to monitor progress in strengthening local governance (OECD, 2013). Togo is the only WAEMU country that has not implemented administrative decentralization in the last twenty years, despite a legal framework established by the Constitution in 1992 and supplemented by Law No. 98- 006 in 1998 (AFDB, 2015). According to the IMF (2019), while improving, Togo's governance is still weaker than WAEMU and SSA averages. Togo has put in place many of the necessary institutions and laws¹⁸⁵ that are the foundation for good governance but it lags peers on the effective implementation of this framework, as evidenced by perception surveys of the population and users (ibid.). "Continued efforts are essential to improve the quality and trust in the public institutions and ensure a fair and effective implementation of existing laws and regulations." (IMF, 2019). The judicial system suffers from legal pluralism (i.e., the separation of official and customary law derived from colonial times) and does not sufficiently protect private property (BTI, 2016). Inheritance and property protection laws are deficient at worst, and at best not adequately enforced when existent¹⁸⁶. This is particularly the case for poor farmers¹⁸⁷, migrants and women¹⁸⁸ deprived of secure rights or for whom the legal code awareness is poor (ibid.).

¹⁸⁵ "The authorities focus their efforts on continued reforms in the following areas: fiscal governance through investment prioritization and fiscal transparency; fight against corruption through an effective functioning of the anticorruption law enforcement agencies; fight against money laundering and terrorism financing building on the finding of the national risk assessment; improvement of the judicial system through publication of an annual compendium of judicial and prison statistics, enhancing existing expedited enforcement procedures such as Injonction de Payer, and the implementation of the new Commercial Courts Act; and the streamlining of border procedures and market regulations." (IMF, 2019)

¹⁸⁶ Most laws and contracts, often verbal are difficult to enforce resulting in illegal black markets involved with imports such as electronics, computer software or cosmetics (ibid.).

¹⁸⁷ In 2015, only about 36% of arable land is held under a tenure system that provides long-term security (BTI, 2016).

¹⁸⁸ "More than civil law, customary or traditional law (which affects the vast majority of women) discriminates against women, e.g., a wife has no rights in the case of divorce, separation or death of a spouse..." (USGPO, 1994)

Furthermore, the problem of a complex land tenure system in which traditional and modern laws coexist and compete is exacerbated by land scarcity. The land tenure regulations dominated by unwritten customary laws are usually re-interpreted by traditional chieftaincies and local authorities, often to their own advantage (Op. cit.) exacerbating corruption practices¹⁸⁹. “On paper, the judicial branch is independent from the legislative and the executive branches, but survey data indicate weaknesses in the implementation of the legal framework and limited trust in the judicial courts.”(IMF, 2019). Most contracts covering agricultural land are verbal agreement and disputes over land are extremely common (BTI, 2018). The double sale of land has become common practice in the capital. This practice, as well as conflicts of delimitation of land between local communities has led to numerous land disputes, as evidenced by the development of warning signs "disputed land, not for sale" in the houses of Lomé. In its monthly report dated 2014 and titled *Reflets du Palais*, the Court of Appeal of Lomé, stressed that real estate transactions generate litigation that clutters the courts. Land disputes in fact represent about 80% of cases brought before the courts of Togo. CPIA property rights and rule-based governance rate¹⁹⁰ for Togo was 3 in 2018 (WB, 2019). Also, “management and monitoring of state-owned enterprises and other public assets are insufficient. Procedures for systematic follow-up of audit reports by the Court of Audits (Cour des Comptes) and other control organs are weak” (IMF, 2019). Thus the need of the government to procure stronger capacity, including developing electronic management of tender processes and establishing procurement compliant reviews and auditing mechanisms (ibid.).

¹⁸⁹ “The Togolese government has become increasingly engaged in institutional reforms to strengthen governance and fight corruption...Control of corruption seems weaker than the WAEMU average. Based on survey data, bribes are common in contacts with the police, courts, utility companies, and when asking for permits or other documents; cases of corruption are underreported to the legal authorities because of fear of retaliation or other negative consequences. Against this background, in recent years the Togolese government has established several important institutions to tackle corruption, including the anti-corruption agency (HAPLUCIA, Haute Autorité de Prévention et de Lutte contre la Corruption et les Infractions Assimilées) that became operational in 2017. New anti-corruption legislation has also been adopted or is under preparation, including a requirement of asset declarations for all civil servants who are professionally or politically exposed to risks of corruption. The challenge is now to enforce the anti-corruption legislation. (IMF, 2019)

¹⁹⁰ The CPIA property rights and rule-based governance rating (1=low to 6=high) assesses the extent to which private economic activity is facilitated by an effective legal system and rule-based governance structure in which property and contract rights are reliably respected and enforced (WB, 2019).

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Control of Corruption: Estimate	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	-1.0	-0.9	-0.7	-0.7	-0.7	-0.7
Control of Corruption: Number of Sources	9.0	10.0	11.0	11.0	12.0	12.0	13.0	13.0	13.0	13.0
Control of Corruption: Percentile Rank	16.7	17.1	17.1	16.1	15.2	18.3	25.5	28.4	26.0	25.5
Control of Corruption: Percentile Rank, Lower Bound of 80% Confidence Interval	4.3	7.1	5.7	8.1	6.2	11.1	14.9	15.4	15.4	15.4
Control of Corruption: Percentile Rank, Upper Bound of 80% Confidence Interval	24.9	28.1	23.2	26.1	22.7	29.8	38.5	39.4	38.9	36.5
Control of Corruption: Standard Error	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
Government Effectiveness: Estimate	-1.4	-1.4	-1.4	-1.3	-1.3	-1.2	-1.2	-1.1	-1.1	-1.1
Government Effectiveness: Number of Sources	8.0	9.0	10.0	10.0	11.0	11.0	11.0	11.0	11.0	11.0
Government Effectiveness: Percentile Rank	6.2	5.3	7.1	8.1	8.5	9.6	11.1	13.0	12.5	13.0
Government Effectiveness: Percentile Rank, Lower Bound of 80% Confidence Interval	1.0	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.9	3.8	5.8	7.7	7.2	8.2
Government Effectiveness: Percentile Rank, Upper Bound of 80% Confidence Interval	13.4	13.4	14.2	17.1	14.7	16.3	18.8	21.2	19.7	21.6
Government Effectiveness: Standard Error	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism: Estimate	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.4	-0.4	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2	-0.9	-1.0
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism: Number of Sources	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism: Percentile Rank	38.9	39.8	40.8	35.5	36.0	38.6	38.1	39.0	17.1	14.3
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism: Percentile Rank, Lower Bound of 80% Confidence Interval	26.1	25.6	28.4	21.8	21.8	28.6	25.7	25.2	11.0	8.6
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism: Percentile Rank, Upper Bound of 80% Confidence Interval	52.6	52.1	55.0	44.1	46.9	52.4	51.9	52.4	27.6	23.8
Political Stability and Absence of Violence/Terrorism: Standard Error	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Regulatory Quality: Estimate	-0.9	-0.9	-1.0	-0.8	-0.9	-0.8	-0.8	-0.8	-0.8	-0.7
Regulatory Quality: Number of Sources	8.0	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0	9.0
Regulatory Quality: Percentile Rank	22.0	20.1	18.5	22.3	20.4	22.6	23.1	22.6	21.6	26.9
Regulatory Quality: Percentile Rank, Lower Bound of 80% Confidence Interval	11.0	11.5	8.1	11.4	10.0	10.6	12.5	12.0	11.5	14.9
Regulatory Quality: Percentile Rank, Upper Bound of 80% Confidence Interval	30.1	28.7	24.2	32.2	29.9	32.2	31.3	32.2	32.2	37.0
Regulatory Quality: Standard Error	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Rule of Law: Estimate	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-0.9	-1.0	-0.9	-0.8	-0.6	-0.7	-0.6

Source: Worldwide Governance Indicators

2.5.9 Government and political landscape

Elected for 5 years with no term limit the president has executive power and control over the military. He can dissolve the 81-seat National Assembly whose members are also elected for 5 year terms (CIA, 2014)¹⁹¹. The prime minister appointed by the president leads the government with limited powers. The legal age to vote is 18 years. The 50 representatives of the ruling party formed a parliamentary majority group and succeeded in maintaining their majority during the legislative elections of October 2007.

The years 2013 and 2014 were characterized by political stability despite the tensions of January 2013 caused by an act of arson that destroyed the markets of Kara and Lomé (OECD, 2013). Togo's domestic political context is marked by the overhaul of the political landscape. On April 4, 2012 the birth of a new opposition coalition 'Let's save Togo' took place. The Union for the Republic (Unir) was incepted shortly after the self-dissolution of the erstwhile ruling party, the Rally of the Togolese people (RPT) on April 14, 2012 (Norris, Frank and Martinez I Coma, 2014). In response to the postponement of elections scheduled for 2012, six opposition parties joined together in the Rainbow Coalition in August 2012 (BTI, 2018). For similar reasons the Let's Save Togo Movement (CST), comprising seven opposition parties and civil society organizations held protests which led to confrontation with police forces (ibid.). The UNIR (formerly RPT) obtained an absolute majority in Parliament after the elections in July 2013, with 62 seats out of 91 (a 10 seat increase in 2012). The political discussions remain focused on constitutional reforms, including the reduction of the presidential term as a radical change of the political/cultural landscape may lead to new interethnic tensions. After the legislative elections held in December

¹⁹¹ Amendments to the constitution were proposed by the president of the republic or supported by at least one-fifth of the National Assembly membership; passage requires four-fifths majority vote by the Assembly; a referendum is required if approved by only two-thirds majority of the Assembly or if requested by the president; constitutional articles on the republican and secular form of government cannot be amended; amended 2002, 2007; note - a September 2017 Assembly vote on a package of amendments including presidential term limits failed the four-fifths majority vote required for passage but met the two-thirds majority vote required for holding a referendum (CIA, 2018)

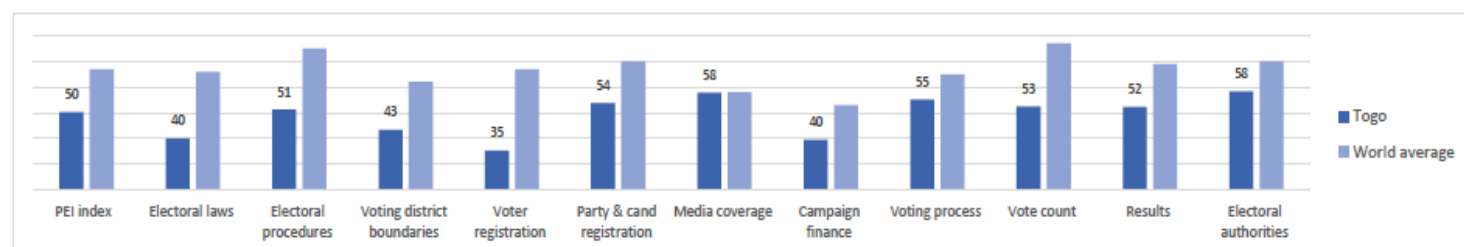
2018, a new Parliament, largely composed of members of the UNIR which secured 59 of the 91 seats, was sworn (WB, 2018). Besides major opposing parties, 18 independents gained entry into Parliament for the first time (ibid.).

Togo

Election for: National Assembly on 25 July 2013

Electoral authority: <http://www.ceni-tg.org/>

PEI Evaluations: Low integrity PEI Rank: 64



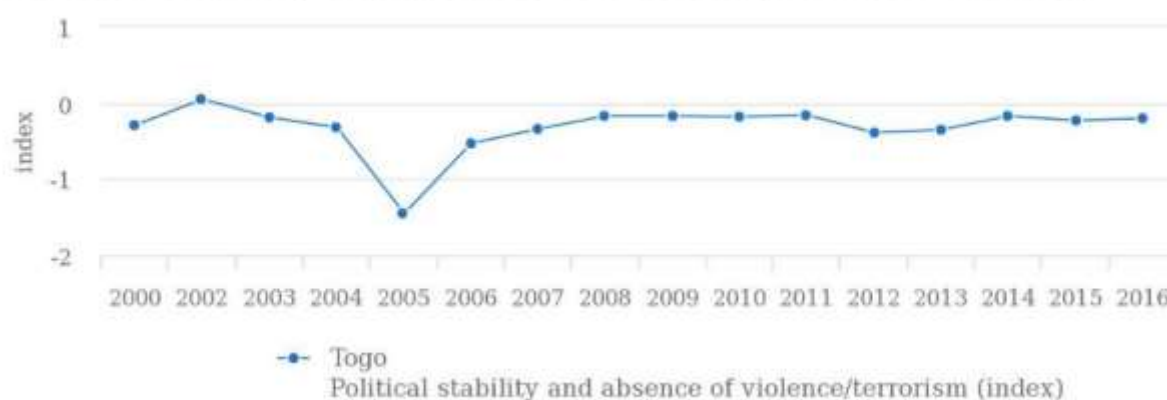
Highlights

In July 25 elections for the 91-seat National Assembly, President Faure Gnassingbé's Union for the Republic, formed in 2012 to replace the Rally of the Togolese People, won 62 seats. The opposition groups Let's Save Togo and the Rainbow Coalition won 19 and 6 seats, respectively. The Union of Forces for Change, a former opposition party that joined the government in 2010, won 3 seats. An independent candidate won the final seat. Opposition parties filed appeals calling the results fraudulent, but these were ultimately dismissed by the constitutional court. The elections had originally been scheduled for October 2012 but were thrice delayed due to mass protests against the electoral law and opposition threats to boycott. The Togo contest was rated poorly by PEI experts with concern about the legal framework.

Largest Parties		Leader	#Seats	Change # seats	% Seats	# Votes	% Votes	In government
Union for the Republic	UNIR	Faure GNASSINGBÉ	62	62	68.1	557040	41.3	No Change
Save Togo Group	CST	Ata Messan Zeus AJAVON	19	19	20.9	464955	34.5	No Change
Rainbow Coalition		Brigitte Adjmagbo JOHNSON	6	6	6.6	151143	11.2	No Change
Union of Forces of Change	UFC	Gilchrist OLYMPIO	3	-24	3.3	94839	7.0	No Change
Valid votes/turnout					Total valid votes cast:	1349469	Turnout: 46.9	
Source:	IFES Election Guide http://www.electionguide.org/elections/id/1667/							

Source: Norris et al (2014)

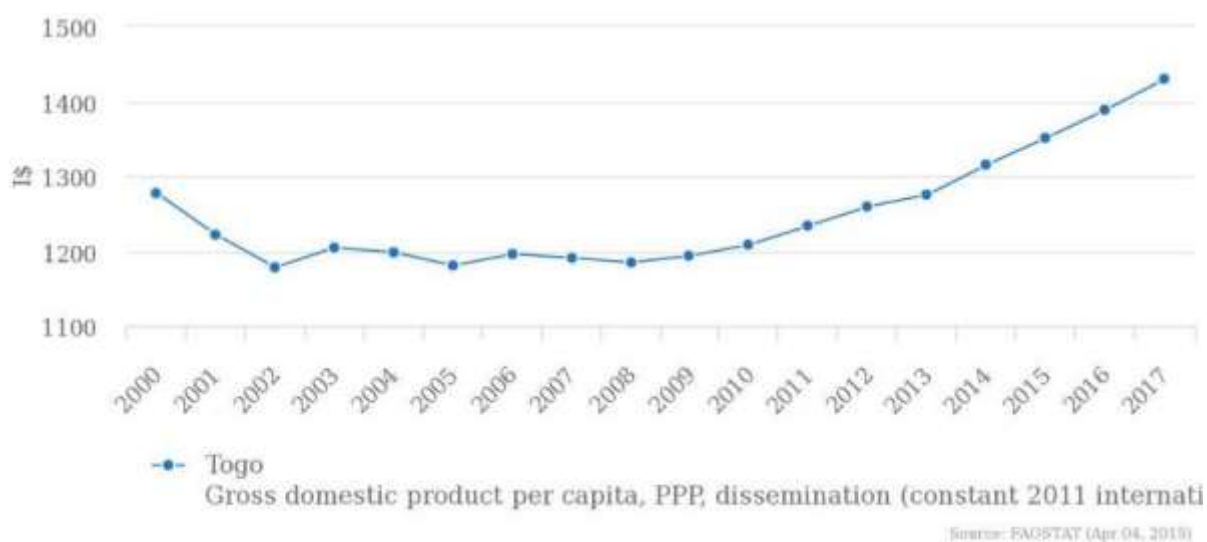
Political stability and absence of violence/terrorism (index)



Source: FAOSTAT (Apr-04, 2019)

2.5.10 A statistical review of the economy: productivity

According to the FAO (2016), “after a long and severe period of political and economic instability in the early 90's, the situation has improved. Nevertheless, this improvement does not translate into a better nutrition situation because the standard of living remains mediocre, with a profound rural poverty especially in the northern part of the country and an increasing urban poverty, while access to safe water and sanitation remains insufficient.” With EU’s assistance to Togo and investments by bilateral donors/investors the GDP rose markedly from 2010¹⁹² (WB, 2019; Wood et al., 2010)¹⁹³. Investments moved from -2.6% in 1998 to 6% in 2010, 4.3% in 2017 and 4.9% in 2019¹⁹⁴ (US\$88 million) (WB, 2019). The public debt ratio was reduced from 81.6% in 2016 to 75.9% in 2018 narrowing the fiscal deficit from 9% of GDP in 2016 to 0.8% in 2018; FDI was US\$102 million in 2017 compared to US\$32 billion for SSA average (ibid.).



¹⁹² In 2010 GDP per capita was \$1216.506 for Togo and \$3225.323 for SSA and in 2018 \$1773.9 from Togo and 3987.504 for SSA. (World Bank, 2019)

¹⁹³ Driven by investment in infrastructure and good agricultural performance, GDP grew at an average of 5% per year from 2012, but posted a net decline in 2017 to 4.4% and is projected to fall below 5% in 2018. This is below the 5.5 to 6.1% projected when the CSP was approved (AFDB, 2019).

¹⁹⁴ The negative impact of the 2017 political crisis and severe fiscal adjustments necessitated by debt brought down the GDP ratio from 82% in 2016 to 70% in 2019 (AFDB, 2019)

The Togolese economy which depends on agriculture including livestock- hunting, fishing and forestry constitutes the most important sector and represents 47% of GDP, (AFDB, 2018). Collectively they were responsible for many jobs and incomes as well as food security and the generation of goods and services¹⁹⁵. About 54% of employments the depended from within these sectors in 2016, then 34.5% in 2019 (UNDP, 2019, WB, 2019). 90% of that population is involved in crop production (ibid.). The sector's contribution to GDP in 2015 was 40.8% and 23% in 2019 (ibid.). Agriculture is assured mainly by small farmers or traditional peasants. The economy is mainly based on cash crops, phosphate and the food industries, but remains very modest in the tertiary sector in terms of energy, water and crop production. The production of cereals and tubers occupy 60% of the GDP of the primary sector. This includes 10% of the main export crops (coffee, cocoa and cotton), 15% for livestock and 4% for fishing. Food trade in 2017 represents 18% imports and 22% exports (ibid.)

Inequality in income is 25% compared to 27.6% for SSA average (UNDP, 2019). Inequality in education¹⁹⁶ is 38.9% and 34% for SSA average (ibid.). National commerce, international trade of cash crops and minerals (e.g. phosphates), and agriculture are Togo's three economic pillars (WB, WITS, 2017). International trade consists of exports at 31% of GDP and imports at 42% of GDP (ibid.). Togo is amongst the world's largest producers of phosphate (CIA, 2015).

¹⁹⁵ Although agriculture contributes significantly to the country's GDP (estimated at an average of 40%), affects more than 60% of the population and 87% of the active population (often families, whose main activity is agriculture), Togo's level of investment in the sector is still low compared to needs. Public expenditure, including that of donors, remained low, ranging from CFAF 25 billion in 2010 (1.7% of GDP) to CFAF 50 billion (1.4% of GDP in 2013-14, CFAF 48.5 billion 1.9% of GDP) in 2016 and CFAF 36.4 billion (1.3%) in 2017. Private investment is insufficient compared to the needs and potential of the agricultural sector due, in particular, to a poor incentive environment, inadequate infrastructure and weak structuring of the sector. 7 2.3.10. Low levels of investment and supervision largely account for low agricultural productivity and insufficient access to domestic (significant share of import substitution in domestic demand) and external (export) markets. To address this, the Government has included agriculture and agricultural processing as the second of the three priorities in the PND (AFDB, 2019).

¹⁹⁶ According to AFDB (2015) the elimination of fees in government primary schools has raised the gross primary enrolment ratio from 98% (2007- 2008) to 127.1% (2013-2014). In 2014, the secondary school access rate was 59.9% and the completion rate was 36.6%. The lowest education access rates are observed in rural areas. The share of public spending on education dipped slightly from 24.9% in 2013 to 23.4% in between 2013 and 2014. Vocational training received only 6% of the education budget, compared to 73% for primary education. Despite improvement in the school enrolment ratio, efforts still have to be made to develop skills for the socio-economic transformation of the country.

Although agriculture dominates the economy, in 2012 only 45% of the 3.4 million hectares of arable land were farmed, and the country's very diverse climate allowed a wide range of potential crops to grow. The sector's growth is nevertheless slowed by weak productivity, owing to small farm sizes, inadequate infrastructure, low levels of mechanized production, poor use of irrigation in landlocked, rural regions, and obstacles to land ownership (OECD et al., 2013, AFDB, 2019). Poor cropping and fertilizing systems¹⁹⁷ hinder productivity. R&D expenditure was 0.3% in Togo and 0.5% for the SSA average in between 2010-2017 (UNDP, 2019). Maize and rice production, increased between 1980 and 2011 thanks to a strong subsidy policy for inputs, growing from 139.000 tons to 887.000 tons for maize and from 15.000 tons to 146.000 tons for rice (FAO, 2019). According to the AFDB (2015), in addition to mineral resources such as iron ore, marble calcareous rock and limestone, Togo exports cash crops as coffee, cocoa and to a larger extent cotton. Some 79,000 tons of cotton were produced in 2011 and 118,055 tons were harvested in 2012. In 1995 cotton overtook phosphates which have been the most major source of mineral since the 1970s. Phosphates were responsible for over half of all export revenues in 1989. Cotton remained the main exported resource until 2001. From 2002 clinker and cement (27%) took over as the leading export, while phosphates and cotton fell to 15% and 14% respectively. Clinker production rose to 1.18 million tons in 1999 following the privatization and modernization of the West Africa Cement Company (CIMAOC). Coffee and cocoa production have declined significantly over the last 20 years, affected by a fall in international prices, a lack of adequate inputs, and the absence of a working framework for producers.

¹⁹⁷ Aboa and Kpemoua (2008) reported that: "The most limiting aspects for the success of the crop breeding programmes in Togo is the insufficient number of breeders by crop due to the inability of the country to replace the retired breeders, the lack of adapted infrastructure and of a training and educational system. The lack of financial resources for field and laboratory experiments, and the lack of knowledge of the use of molecular selection techniques are also major constraints." The fertilizer consumption of arable land in 2009 was 6.2kg/ha in Togo and 13kg/ha for SSA average and in 2016, 11kg/ha in Togo and 16kg/ha for the SSA region. Arable land area, agricultural land area, and arable land per person represent respectively 49%, 70% and 0.353ha/person for Togo and 9%, 44% and 0.21% for entire SSA (WB, 2016, 2019). To increase agricultural productivity and enable economic linkages between the natural-resource sector and the economy as a whole, popular recommendations include structural transformation of the education, infrastructure, country openness (AFDB, 2013).

Lomé, the capital is an important regional trading hub. Togo's international port provides economic activity for land locked countries in need of imported product arriving by sea. However, underdeveloped road transport infrastructure remains a problem for the growth of the Togolese economy, especially in terms of agricultural activities (LMP, 2018; Jalloh et al., 2013). Only 40% of the heavily used national road network was paved in 2011, and 16.7% unpaved (IMF, 2014:77) while engineering structures such as bridges are largely in a state of disrepair due to a lack of maintenance and monitoring¹⁹⁸.

Noticeably, after the 1990-2005 economic stagnation caused by socio-political issues, Togo achieved continual growth since 2007 (AFDB, 2015). Despite the worsening of the budget balance (3.1%) in 2012, countercyclical policies implemented by the government helped support the agricultural sector to create a relatively stable macroeconomic environment characterized by moderate inflation (2.3%) (OECD, 2013). Basically, investments in cash crops which generate 40% of exports contribute in making the balance of trade look promising. Togo was listed one of the most improved countries in terms of business environment and in the top 10 that have risen 15 places up the table to 149th in the world (Doing Business, 2015). Also, GDP grew by an estimated 6% in 2010, and was projected to grow by 5.7% in 2015 and 5.9% in 2016. This growth is attributed to investments in economic infrastructure and agricultural reforms (ibid.). According to the 2018 Doing business report, the business climate has improved in past years as the priorities of the government has been gravitating around national development plan (NDD) for 2018-2022. In 2019 the report listed Togo 137th worldwide and 21st in Africa whereas it was

¹⁹⁸ The feeder roads linking major agricultural production areas with potential markets are often not passable, particularly during the rainy season. Some areas remain very isolated (Jalloh et al., 2013). It is difficult for farmers in remote areas to sell their produce in an urban center such as Lomé or Kara with more than 100.000 inhabitants with larger markets and better prices. Generally, farmers must sell their produce in smaller urban centers of fewer than 10.000 inhabitants, particularly in periodic markets (ibid.). There is much leeway for transforming Togolese agriculture and boosting the various links of the value chains. All analytical studies agree on the need to also focus on road infrastructure, which facilitates the evacuation of agricultural and agro-industry products at national and sub-regional levels (AFDB, 2019) According to the AFDB (2019) the Togolese national road network was estimated at 11,875 km in 2011, of which only 52.2% was in good condition. According to available data, from 2011 to 2016, the total length of paved national roads (RNR), which represented 14.9% of the total national road network, increased from 1,738.8 km to 2,130.7 km. While the plateau region is more quantitatively and qualitatively endowed overall, the road network of the maritime region was, between 2011 and 2016, the densest in Togo, with an average of 43.17 km per 100 km². The least dense was the central region with an average of 12.6 km per 100 km².

respectively 156th and 31st in 2018. This owes to reforms set to attract investments in the primary sector (phosphate, cotton, etc.) and tertiary sectors (port, infrastructures, etc.). In fact, to attract more FDIs the government introduced a number of incentives¹⁹⁹.

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Dealing with construction permits (DB08-16 methodology) - Score	29.1	29.1	29.1	29.1	29.1	42.7	47.4	—	—	—
Dealing with construction permits (DB18-20 methodology) - Score	—	—	—	—	—	—	39.7	41.3	41.7	44.0
Dealing with construction permits: Building quality control Index (0-16) (DB18-20 methodology)	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.5	2.5	2.5	3.0
Dealing with construction permits: Building quality control Index (0-16) (DB18-20 methodology) - Score	—	—	—	—	—	—	16.7	16.7	16.7	20.0
Dealing with construction permits: Cost (% of Warehouse value)	27.5	25.2	24.4	24.3	21.9	19.5	17.7	16.4	16.1	14.9
Dealing with construction permits: Cost (% of Warehouse value) - Score	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	11.4	17.9	19.5	25.4
Dealing with construction permits: Liability and Insurance regimes Index (0-2) (DB18-20 methodology)	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dealing with construction permits: Procedures (number)	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0
Dealing with construction permits: Procedures (number) - Score	66.7	66.7	66.7	66.7	66.7	66.7	66.7	66.7	66.7	66.7
Dealing with construction permits: Professional certifications Index (0-4) (DB18-20 methodology)	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dealing with construction permits: Quality control after construction Index (0-3) (DB18-20 methodology)	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
Dealing with construction permits: Quality control before construction Index (0-1) (DB18-20 methodology)	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dealing with construction permits: Quality control during construction Index (0-3) (DB18-20 methodology)	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dealing with construction permits: Quality of building regulations Index (0-3) (DB18-20 methodology)	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.5	0.5	0.5	1.0
Dealing with construction permits: Time (days)	588.0	588.0	588.0	588.0	588.0	588.0	588.0	488.0	488.0	488.0
Dealing with construction permits: Time (days) - Score	61.6	61.6	61.6	61.6	61.6	61.6	61.6	69.8	69.8	69.8
Ease of doing business score (DB16 methodology)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Enforcing contracts (DB04-16 methodology) - Score	48.6	48.6	48.6	48.6	48.6	49.6	49.6	—	—	—
Enforcing contracts (DB18 methodology) - Score	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Enforcing contracts (DB17-20 methodology) - Score	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	48.1	48.1	48.1
Enforcing contracts: Alternative dispute resolution (0-3) (DB18-20 methodology)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2.0	2.0	2.0
Enforcing contracts: Attorney fees (% of claim)	—	—	—	19.0	19.0	19.0	19.0	19.0	19.0	19.0
Enforcing contracts: Case management (0-8) (DB18-20 methodology)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.0	0.0	0.0
Enforcing contracts: Cost (% of claim)	47.5	47.5	47.5	47.5	47.5	47.5	47.5	47.5	47.5	47.5
Enforcing contracts: Cost (% of claim) - Score	46.7	46.7	46.7	46.7	46.7	46.7	46.7	46.7	46.7	46.7

Source: Doing Business (WB, 2019)

¹⁹⁹ Protection against nationalization of foreign investors' property; free transfer of capital; 10 years tax exemption on dividends (when exporting in the free zone) of raw materials imports as machinery, plant equipment, preferential tariffs on utility services (electricity, water, telephone) utility services (electricity, water, telephone) (UNCTAD, Doing Business, 2019).

2.5.11 Labour: the distance between opportunity and incentive

Of Togo's 7.8 million inhabitants (WB, 2019), the labour force (age 15-64) represents 79% (ibid; ILO, 2019). Unemployment and underemployment²⁰⁰ are respectively estimated at 1.7% and 35% for Togo and 6.11% unemployment rate for SSA (WB, 2019). Vulnerable employment²⁰¹ was 77.14% in Togo and 73.8% for SSA (WB, 2019). Of the nation's unemployed, some 75% point the lack of job to explain their unemployment, 80% urban and 62% rural point family obligations (ibid). The age dependency ratio²⁰² is 79.22% in 2018 compared to 98.11 in 1985. Of the underemployed, 20.8% are age 15-24, 43.4% age 25-34 and 27.9% age 55-64 (ibid.). Underemployment is common/predominant amongst the self-employed in the informal small business sector dominated by women employed in agriculture and informal activities. Accordingly, from the perspective of job creation, in a case study on employment in Togo observed:

When observing the growth of cities and the strong demand for food that comes, it is easily understandable that there is great potential for endogenous growth. A boon to help solve the unemployment problem, we deduce quickly. Now many farmers complain: 'we do not find labor for agricultural work!' So how can there be both unemployment and a shortage of farm labor? (Batawila and Pleines, 2010)

The case study further revealed that cultivated areas were small although 95% of households affirmed they would be able to cultivate larger areas and that farming operations neglected or realized too late negatively affected the crops and thus the ability to hire labor at the next campaign (ibid.)

²⁰⁰ Underemployment is defined as those who are employed and are willing to work in the next four weeks, and who meet one or more of the following criteria: (a) work less than 8 hours per day, (b) have an income below the minimum wage (35,000 CFA francs monthly), or (c) feel overqualified for their job.

²⁰¹ Vulnerable employment (modeled ILO estimate) is contributing family workers and own-account workers as a percentage of total employment. (WB, 2019)

²⁰² Age dependency ratio is the ratio of dependents--people younger than 15 or older than 64--to the working-age population--those ages 15-64. Data are shown as the proportion of dependents per 100 working-age population. Relevance to gender indicator: this indicator implies the dependency burden that the working-age population bears in relation to children and the elderly. Many times single or widowed women who are the sole caregiver of a household have a high dependency ratio (World Bank, 2019).

Mamadou Cissokho (2010), former president of ROPPA and director of the network and farmer organizations of agricultural producers of West Africa argued that: "currently in West Africa, only agriculture can create enough jobs. However young people need 2,000 euros per year, not 200 euros". To synthesize, the shortage of farm labor was due to a combination of several variables such as technical, social, economic and political factors (Baah-Boateng, 2016). These include: low pay²⁰³ for farm labor, the lack of liquidity amongst operators, denigration and drudgery of farm work, low productivity in terms of agricultural labor, and the inadequacy and inefficiency of agricultural development policies. (ibid.). In addition to this problem, topographic disparities in terms of the unequal distribution of natural resources such as arable land create challenges.

In Togo, joblessness is higher amongst the most educated (OECD, 2016) as efforts of the government to ease access to education raised the literacy rate²⁰⁴ and multiplied to number of graduate. However the education system remains ill-suited for the labor market (Chitou, 2013, 2011; Atitsogbe et al. 2016, 2019). The gap between the country's development needs and required skills for their fulfillment disadvantage the young graduates (Pieume, 2016). Furthermore, the contextual inhibitors as lack of financial means or unfair competition, family support schemes and the traditional bilateral system of informal or state employment cause the reluctance of graduate job seekers for entrepreneurial careers (Atitsogbe et al., 2016; Pari, 2014, Golo, 2012). In a predominantly informal economy, the weakness of social safety nets, and paucity of employment possibility affect underemployment (Kucera and Roncolato; 2008).

The informal sector contributes between 25% and 50% to total GDP and accounts for 92% of non-agricultural employment in 2014 (WB, 2019; Ottoo et al., 2009). Agriculture

²⁰³ In Togo, the legal working week is 40 hours, except in the agricultural sector where it has been increased to 48 hours. In 2008, the minimum inter-professional wage and the minimum agricultural wage was re-evaluated and has since been set at XOF 28 000 (43€/month) (LMP, 2014)

²⁰⁴ In 2008 over 60% of the agricultural population (of which 80% in the Savanah region) could neither read nor write (GIBP, GCDT, 2008). In 2015, adult (15+) literacy rate rose to 64% while the literacy of those aged 15-24 was 84% (WB, 2019).

employs 34.5% of the labor force ²⁰⁵(UNDP, 2019). The most important activity is trade (49%), followed by services 29%, and manufacturing (23%). Street vendors account for 75% of the trade component. The rate of informal sector employment in urban areas has increased by more than 3% annually, and the influx of rural youth into urban areas in search of non-existent formal jobs continues (LMP, 2014). A long period of social and political instability and corruption has discouraged the creation of formal sector jobs (ibid.). Competition between the various national trade union centers frustrates efforts to obtain exact data on members in order to track information on both the formal and informal sectors.

Labour laws prohibit individuals under the age of 15 years from working. However, the national survey on child labour reveals that 22.6% of children aged 5 to 17 years work (UNDP, 2019). Concerning agrarian work ethics in Togo, the distinction between formal, modern and informal codes/laws must be considered (Gardini, 2015). Modern law only prevails theoretically because the means to enforce them over traditional behaviors are few²⁰⁶. Many children remain subject to the worst forms of labour conditions, including forced domestic and agricultural work. Children employed in agriculture in 2011 represented 72.2% nationwide (WB, 2019). This is often the result of human trafficking²⁰⁷ (OECD et al., 2013; Cohen, 2003). In 2013, total child labor was registered at 28.3% comprising of 27.7% male and 28.9% female (UNICEF, 2015). The Government has not devoted sufficient resources to effectively enforcing its child labor laws as social programs

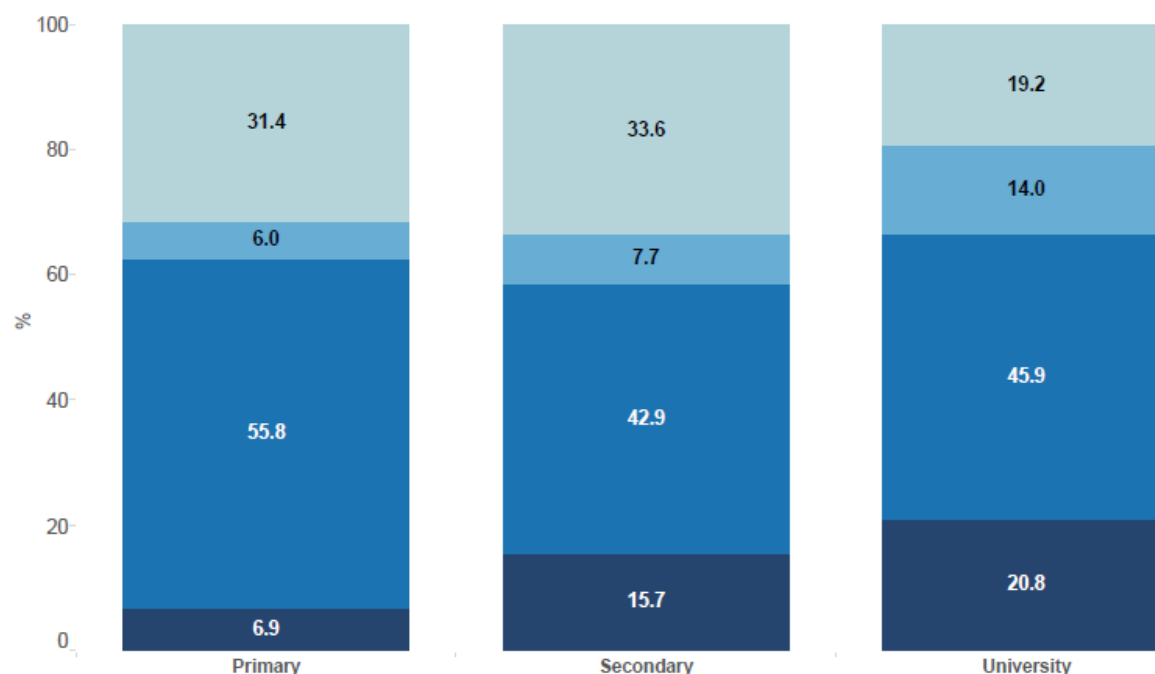
²⁰⁵ 29% of Togolese women and 40% of men. Informal non-agricultural employment covers 95% of Togolese women and 88% of the men (WB, 2019).

²⁰⁶ Even teachers who are well acquainted with modern laws admit to sending students to work in their field because of their authority as responsible societal figures (Gardini, 2015). Consequently, many young people free themselves permanently from farming; an activity which renders them the victims of abuse and violence from an early age (ibid.)

²⁰⁷ Cohen (2003) reported: "Togo's trade in children is illustrative of a larger, regional phenomenon involving at least thirteen West African countries. Based on the testimony of children and local experts, Human Rights Watch documented four routes of child trafficking into, out of, or within Togo: (1) the trafficking of Togolese girls into domestic and market labor in Gabon, Benin, Nigeria, and Niger; (2) the trafficking of girls from within Togo to other parts of the country, especially the capital, Lomé; (3) the trafficking of girls from Benin, Nigeria, and Ghana to Lomé; and (4) the trafficking of boys into labor exploitation, usually agricultural work, in Nigeria, Benin, and Côte d'Ivoire. Children interviewed by Human Rights Watch came predominantly from poor, agricultural backgrounds and had generally little schooling before being trafficked. Most were promised that by going abroad they would gain some formal or vocational education, which they could then use to earn money for themselves or their families.

do not match the scope of the problem and rely largely on NGOs and international organizations for implementation (U.SDL, 2014)

Labor force status by education attainment, not in school, ages 15-29 (%)



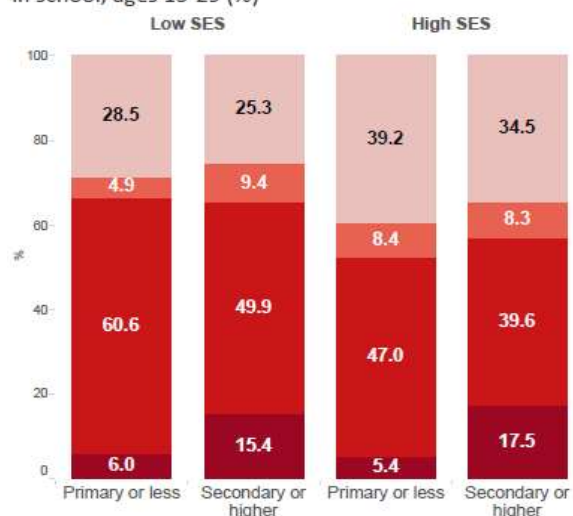
Graph shows the percentage of youth who are not currently in school, and who are either in salaried employment, non-salaried employment, unemployed and looking for work, or not in school and not in the labor force.

Status
 ■ Inactivity ■ Unemployment ■ Employment ■ Salaried employment

Socioeconomic Status

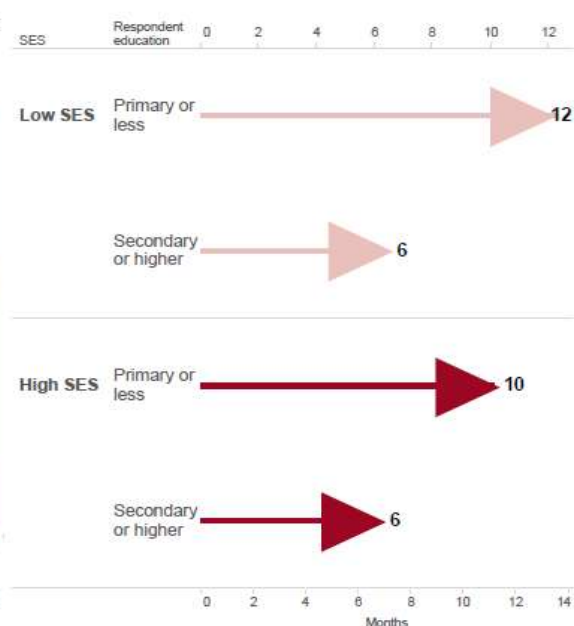
Status
 ■ Inactivity ■ Employment
 ■ Unemployment ■ Salaried employment

Labor force status by education attainment and SES, not in school, ages 15-29 (%)



Graph shows the percentage of youth who are not currently in school, and who are either in salaried employment, non-salaried employment, unemployed and looking for work, or inactive and not in the labor force. Socioeconomic status is proxied by parent's educational level, and is dependent upon the distribution of parent's educational attainment within the country.

Transition length in months, by education attainment and SES (#)



Length of time in months between finishing school and starting first job. Those who started first job before finishing schooling are excluded from the calculation.

Source: Education policy and data center (2014)

2.5.12 Poverty

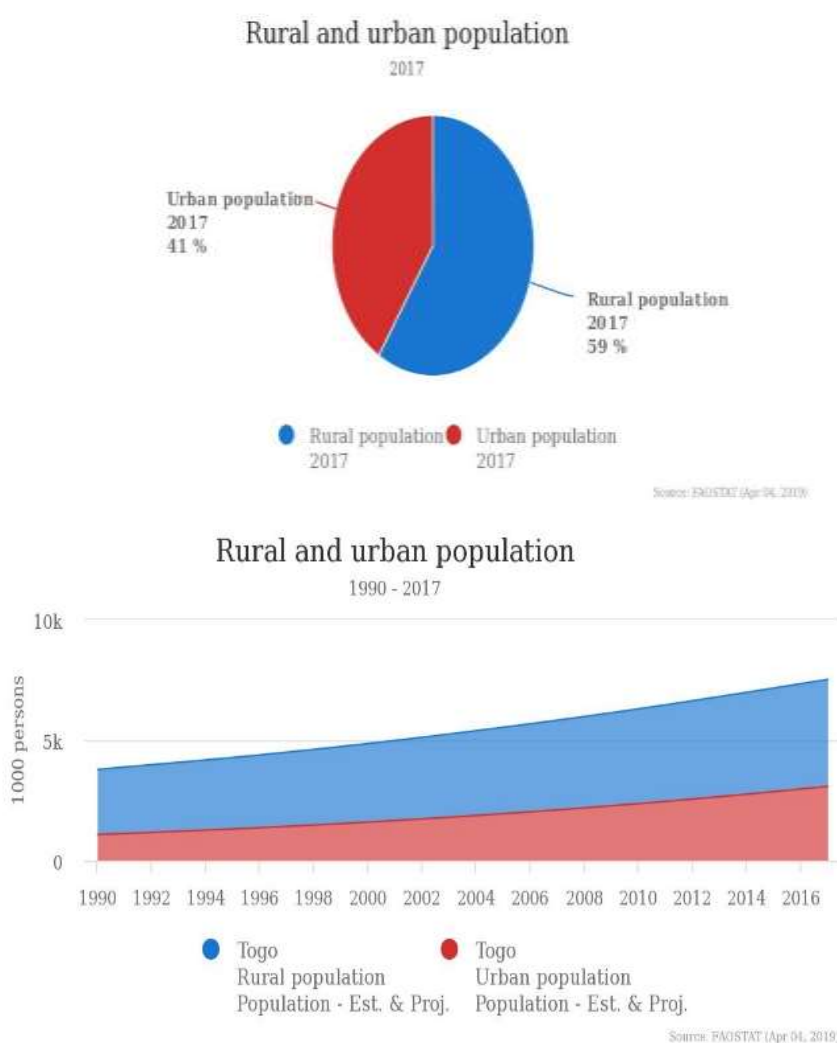
The most recent census reports that 55.1% of the population live on less than \$2/day with poverty is crushingly concentrated in rural areas (68.7%) (INSEED, 2016). Indeed, in 2006 the rural incidence was 75.1%, representing 80% of the poor whereas the urban incidence was 37.2% (WB, 2019; IMF, 2014; Togo-MEF, 2008). The 2011QUIBB survey show that 78.9% of the poor live in rural areas of Togo. Within these rural areas, 73.4% are below the poverty line comprising of 28.5% and 44.7% for Lomé for other urban areas respectively. Respectively in 2006, 2011, and 2017 the poverty incidence was: 90.5%/87.3%/65% for the Savannah (poorest); 77.7%/76%/59.9% in the Central region; 69.4%/45.3%/53% in the Maritime region; 24.5%/27%/30% in Lomé, the capital (WB, 2019; INSEED, 2016, UNDP, 2007); 75 % in Kara and 56.2% in Plateau in 2006²⁰⁸. Poverty (US\$1.90/person/day) declined from 55.6% in 2006 to 49.2% in 2015 (41.4% for SSA) but remains widespread particularly in rural areas where 69% still live below the poverty line (ibid.). Male-headed households experience lower poverty rates than female-headed households (57.5% against 54% for women) (WB, 2019). After the independence in 1960 the GDP per capita rose from 11% to 12% in 1980 then fell to -17% in 1993, 12% in 1994 and 2.4% in 2018 sustaining a large poverty gap at 20% in 2015 between poor and rich (WB, 2019). The income inequality index is 0.513/1 against 0.484 in 2015(UNDP, 2019). On the Human development index Togo ranked 167th out of 188 countries in 2019 compared to 162nd in 2015 (UNDP, 2019). With 5.6% growth in 2013 and 5-year compounded annual growth at 4.8% (Economic freedom index, 2015), the PPP GNI²⁰⁹ per capita was respectively \$1520 in 2014 and \$1780 in 2018 in Togo and \$3621 in 2014 and \$3848 in 2018 for SSA (WB, 2019). The prevalence of undernourishment was 31.1% in 2000 and 16.1% in 2017 compared to SSA's 21.35% (WB, 2019, FAO, 2017).

²⁰⁸ (Latest data on both regions)

²⁰⁹ PPP GNI is gross national income (GNI) converted to international \$ using purchasing power parity rates (WB, 2019)

2.5.13 Regional disparities and spatial exclusion

The Togolese territory is divided into 5 regions, 35 prefectures and 387 cantons, and the population density is 123 people/km² (WB, 2014). The 35 administrative centers of the prefectures are with Lomé, the urban environment of the country. The rest of the country is rural. In 2014, the population was comprised of 39% urban and 61 % rural in 2014 (Op.cit) and 42.8% in 2020 (CIA, 2019). The relative share of the urban population in each region increases with its proximity to Lomé²¹⁰. The quality of infrastructure/basic services relates to the region. In the Savanna region Kara is 5% urban, the Central region is 8% urban, the Plateaux region is 7% urban and the Maritime region is 12% urban so the south is cumulatively 68% urban (AFDB, 2015).



²¹⁰ Togo is one of the more densely populated African nations with most of the population residing in rural communities, density is highest in the south on or near the Atlantic coast (CIA, 2019)

Togo has a road density of 20.6km/km², but national paved roads only represent 1732km, less than 15% of the Togolese road network with a density at 3.1km/km². The urban road density decreases gradually as one moves away from the capital. It is 17.3km/km² in the Maritime region; 1.6km/km² in the Kara; 1.1km/km² in the Central region; 1.7km/km² in the trays; and 1.2km/km² in Savanna region. 98% of tax revenues collected in 2014 came from the Maritime region representing some 97% of Lomé. This compares with 2% of tax revenues collected from other regions. Some 89% is collected from the territory and 57% from the population.

The distribution of electricity consumption by region reflects, on the one hand, rural or urban lifestyles and, on the other, remoteness or proximity to the sea and industrial areas. According to USAID (2016) “Electricity in Togo is primarily supplied through thermal plants, imports from Nigeria and Ghana, and some hydropower.” Based on data from 2017, Togo’s national electrification rate reached 36%, with associated electrification rates of 16% in rural areas and 64% in urban areas (CIA, 2019, *ibid.*). These were respectively 27%, 16% and 64% in 2013 (*ibid.*). In the north Ntagungira (2016[2015]) reports, the three most rural regions (Savanna, Kara and Central), which are farthest from the Atlantic Ocean, consume only 9% of the country’s electricity whereas they are home to 36% of the population. The inequalities between regions and stark divide between north and south in terms of education²¹¹, health²¹² and access to property²¹³ remain alarming (OECD et al. (2013).

²¹¹ Deprivation of access to education affects the north and center of the country more so than the south. The map of the net rate of primary school enrollment shows that the prefectures that have the lowest rates are found in the Savannah regions, Kara, Central and Trays.

²¹² 82% of doctors work in the Maritime region (77% in Lomé) against 18% for the rest of the country. Similarly, 48% of nurses are found in the Maritime region (31% in Lomé) against 52% for other regions. The share of the rural population with access to improved sanitation facilities declined from 7.9% to 2.5% between 1990 and 2012, against 26.3% to 25.5% over the same period for the urban population. The share of the rural population with access to an improved water source slightly increased from 36.2% to 40.3% between 1990 and 2012, against 78.8% to 91.4% over the same period for the urban population. The concentration of population in Lomé and its surroundings creates pressure on land and unsanitary problems. Dumps are increasing in number, and the volume of solid waste is estimated at 280,000 tons per year in Lomé where the waste treatment capacity is not known. Discarded bags that are non-biodegradable together with liquid waste, cars and motorcycle taxis are also sources of environmental degradation.

²¹³ This is notably the case in rural areas where awareness and importance of the civil code is poor (U.S.DS, 2019).

2.5.14 Structural policy reforms: limits, challenges and successes

According to the OECD (2013) the MDGs²¹⁴ made poverty fall by 3% over the 2006-2013 period. However, extreme poverty rising from 28.6% to 30.4% indicate that economic growth does not favor the poor (SDG, 2017). The worsening of the extreme poverty rate has, unsurprisingly been accompanied by greater inequality, and the Gini index is up from 42.2 in 2006 to 43.1 in 2015 (WB, 2019). Despite noticeable improvements in the socio-economic landscape, poverty remained a critical issue as in 2015 the poverty ratio was significant: 68.7% rural, 35.9% urban and 34.8% in Lomé the capital (ibid.). Specific interventions were identified as to the poor and vulnerable groups through the 2013-2017 SCAPE²¹⁵ national plan's 5 strategic pillars²¹⁶. The SCAPE was designed in 2013 to meet MDGs by accelerating growth and the promotion of employment (IMF, 2015). The budget share of social sectors (primary education, literacy, and health, advancement of women, social welfare, water and sanitation) in the budget for 2014 decreased from 19.9% to 18.4% despite an increase of 15 billion XOF volume. Through legislative reforms efforts were made toward gender equality even if inequalities remain²¹⁷, social protection²¹⁸,

²¹⁴ Eight goals that all 191 UN member states in 2000 have agreed to try to achieve by the year 2015: eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; achieve universal primary education; promote gender equality and empower women; reduce child mortality; improve maternal health; combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases; ensure environmental sustainability; and develop a global partnership for development. (WHO, 2015)

²¹⁵ In French, Stratégie de Croissance Accélérée et de Promotion de l'Emploi (Strategy for accelerated Growth and Promotion of Employment) (IMF, 2014)

²¹⁶ Development of sectors with strong growth potential; economic infrastructure strengthening; human capital development, social welfare and employment; governance strengthening; participative, balanced and sustainable development (IMF, 2014)

²¹⁷ Moreover, the incidence of poverty is higher for female-headed households (57.5%) than those headed by males (54.6%), and increased for the former while decreasing for the latter between 2011 and 2015 (PND 2015). In the education sector, although parity is almost achieved in the primary sector, the enrolment rate for girls is 79% compared to 83.8% for boys. However, there is a clear increase in the female literacy rate, which is 63.4%. In terms of health, according to available data, maternal and infant mortality rates stood at 401 deaths per 100,000 live births and 49% in 2014, respectively (EDS-III). The rate of early marriage is about 32% and rights violations and violence against women and children persist. In terms of employment, 70% of female workers are confined to the informal sector. In general, access to credit for women entrepreneurs is difficult due to the lack of guarantees in spite of an improvement in micro-finance (AFDB, 2018).

²¹⁸ The National Health Insurance Institute (INAM) in place since 2012 provides health insurance benefits to nearly 55,000 civil servants and their families, local government employees and pensioners. There were 277,958 beneficiaries in 2016, or 7.6% of the population. Since 2017, the Government has been financing an insurance policy covering all Togolese public school students, at a total cost of CFAF 2 billion. These measures complement cash transfers to vulnerable women and school canteens, which caters for more than 80,000 students in areas identified as pockets of poverty (ibid.).

education²¹⁹, employment²²⁰ and health²²¹. Poor sanitation, unclean water, and the inadequate disposal of human excreta are the prime vectors of diseases like cholera, typhoid fever, and polio, (IMF, 2014). Yet, in 2016 some 8.6% of the urban population and 55.8% of the rural population do not have access to improved sanitation facilities and clean water (CIA, 2016).

The percentage of the population with access to improved²²² sanitation systems rose from 31.7% in 2006 to 34.9% in 2011, then decreased to 11.6% in 2015 (CIA, 2019, IMF, 2014). Regional disparities in terms of sanitation system also exist, with the proportion ranging from 87.6% in Lomé to 15.6% in the Plateaux region (ibid.). The proportion is lower in rural than urban areas (respectively 11.8% and 73% in 2011; 24.7% and 2.9% in 2015) and in 2015 88.4% had access to unimproved²²³ sanitary systems (75.3% urban and 97.1% rural) (CIA, 2016).

However only 16.1% of population had access to the least basic sanitation services compared to 30.89% for the SSA average (WB, 2019, FAO, 2017). The low coverage rate for latrines (11.7% in 2010) owes to the decrease of the number of public toilets built since 2009 (3 004 units built in 2009 against 563 in 2011 (AFDB, 2015).

²¹⁹ Togo has an Education Sector Plan 2010-2020 with the strategic orientations of universalization of primary education through the introduction of free education, improving access to education and equity at other levels of education, as well as management and governance. The number of women in primary education increased by 47.9% from 2014-2015 to 2015-2016. The gross enrolment rate stood at 129.6% in 2015-2016 compared to 127.1% in 2014. According to available data, the PASEC survey in 2014 showed that, as in many African countries, the majority of Togolese pupils do not have the expected primary education skills. This situation affects education system efficiency. (AFDB, 2019)

²²⁰ The Government has taken several measures to reduce youth unemployment. These include the establishment of mechanisms such as the Togo National Volunteer Agency (ANVT), which plans to recruit more than 1,500 volunteers, or the Support for Integration and Employment Development Programme (AIDE).(ibid.)

²²¹ Improved attendance at health facilities and community-based intervention policy led to a 24.84% reduction in malaria-related deaths in 2016. With regard to HIV/AIDS, the screening of 449,428 people in 2016 revealed an HIV prevalence rate of 3.3%. Although the cumulative density of health workers in the public sector has increased from 47 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2015 to 50 in 2016, Togo still ranks among the countries with low levels of health human resources. The Ministry of Health has a National Health Development Plan (PNDS) 2017-2022, costing CFAF 674.148 billion, which represents a major challenge for Togo, as it allocates less than 7% of its annual budget to the health sector.(ibid.)

²²² use of any of the following facilities: flush or pour-flush to a piped sewer system, septic tank or pit latrine; ventilated improved pit (VIP) latrine; pit latrine with slab; or a composting toilet.(CIA, 2019)

²²³ use of any of the following: flush or pour-flush not piped to a sewer system, septic tank or pit latrine; pit latrine without a slab or open pit; bucket; hanging toilet or hanging latrine; shared facilities of any type; no facilities; or bush or field (Ibid.).

Concerning the access to potable water, despite abundant hydraulic resources, access to is historically problematic²²⁴. Regarding health, even though 62% of the population lives within 5 km of these facilities in 2014 as a result of the SCAPE national strategic plan, national utilization rates of public sector health facilities are less than 30% (Lauria et al., 2019; MOH, 2014). The AFDB (2015) reported that to overcome the problem of access to credit for the most vulnerable populations, the government established the National Fund for Inclusive Finance in 2014 with the aim of providing: "Access for the poor to basic financial services" The fund was also set up to provide unsecured loans limited to 30 000 XOF at an interest rate of 5%. This initiative contests with conventional microfinance where interest rates can reach up to 18%. Funding was provided by the state, supported by the West African Development Bank (BOAD), through a credit line of 5 billion XOF. The SDGs²²⁵ were designed to go much further than the MDGs in addressing the root causes of poverty and the universal need for development that works for everyone. The SCAPE2013-2017 plan as an outcome of MDGs also helped improved several SDGs but many challenges remain and other issues deepen (SDG, 2017). Consequently the 2017 edition of the SDG on the theme "eradicating poverty and promoting prosperity in a changing world" highlighted 7 goals²²⁶ (SDGs 1, 2, 3, 5, 9, 14 and 17) that needed to be

²²⁴ Service rates in the countrywide rose from 34% in 2007 to 42% in 2012, far below the MDG goals of 49% for 2011 and 75% for 2015. Progress in accessibility to drinking water was realized but the access rate went from 34.0 % in 2010 to 42.0 % in 2013 below the revised MDG target of 66% for 2015 (AFDB et al., 2015). In urban areas the state-run company Société Togolaise des Eaux (TDE) responsible for distribution had trouble expanding its network and faced financial difficulties. Access to drinking water deteriorated, falling from 39% in 2007 to 34% in 2011 in urban areas. In rural and semi-urban areas however, where the directorate general for water and sanitation (DGEA) is responsible for distribution, the situation improved. Between 2007 and 2011, rates climbed from 30% to 47% in rural areas and from 29% to 35% in semi-urban areas.

²²⁵ In 2012 SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) were agreed at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) to produce a set of universally applicable goals that balance the three dimensions of sustainable development: environmental, social, and economic. The goals are: no poverty, zero hunger, good health and wellbeing, quality education, gender equality, clean water and sanitation, affordable and clean energy, decent work and economic growth; industry, innovation, infrastructure; reduce inequalities, sustainable cities and communities, responsible consumption and production; climate action, life below water, life on land, peace, justice and strong institutions; and partnership for the goals (UNDP, 2016.).

²²⁶ SDG 1, end poverty in all its forms and everywhere in the world ; SDG 2, end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture; SDG 3, ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages; SDG 5, achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls; SDG 9, build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation; SDG 14, conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development and, SDG 17, revitalize global partnership for sustainable development and strengthen the means of implementation of this partnership (SDG, 2017).

focused on at the central and regional levels²²⁷. After the 2017 seminar organized with the support of UNDESA and UNDP on the theme: “Transforming governance and public administration in Togo towards the implementation of the 2030 agenda for sustainable development” in order to strengthen leadership for the implementation of the SDGs, a national development plan (2018-2022 NDP) was initiated. 60 urgent priority targets including the remaining after-Scape challenges were grouped in 5 strategic axes: improve the well-being of the people and enable them to fulfil their potential; improve the productivity and competitiveness of the growth sectors; strengthen infrastructure that supports growth; ensure sustainable management of the territory, environment and living conditions, and strengthen governance and consolidate peace.

In the latest SDGs data, compared to other African indices²²⁸, Togo ranks 33/52 (49.5/100) Africa on the Gender Equality Index of 2015; Africa Infrastructure Development 44/54 (13.30/100) in 2019; Africa Regional Integration Index 6/52 (0.66/1) in 2016; Ibrahim Index on African Governance 30/54 (49/100) in 2018 (Sdgindex, 2020). At the sectorial level, some sectorial policies/plans have been updated to reflect the sustainable development goals according to their associated targets. The National Health Development Plan (PNDS) has been updated for the period 2017-2021, the Agricultural Policy for the period 2016-2030 has been adopted and the National Programme for Agricultural Investment and Food & Nutritional Security (PNIASAN) for the period 2017-2025 is currently being updated as well as the National Water and Sanitation Policy (NAEP) for the period 2017-2030 and the National Action Plan for the Water and Sanitation Sector (PANSEA) for the period 2017-2021. In fact, the national rate of access to potable water increased from 50% in 2015 to 53.9% in 2016. This rate increased in rural areas over the same period from 55.3% to

²²⁷ The SDG target prioritization grid (TPG) helps to adapt the international framework to different national contexts to collectively determine, among the 169 targets, which targets should be treated as a priority in a country or region based on the order of importance of the target and its expected performance (ibid.).

²²⁸ By means of the Sustainable Development Analysis Grid (GADD), which permits to determine gaps in the integration of any of the dimensions of sustainable development (SDG, 2017).

64.4% (SDG, 2017). Efforts toward the SDGs related to poverty reduction, gender inequalities, food security, health, infrastructure, the environment.

Poverty reduction : The 2011 QUIBB and MICS of 2011 indicated a decline in the incidence of poverty nationwide (living below the national poverty line), down from 61.7% in 2006 to 58.7% in 2011 and to 55.1% in 2015 even though this does not translate as an homogeneous reality (INSEED, 2007, 2019, IMF, 2014, 2019).

Gender inequalities: Via the implementation of its National Equity and Gender Equality Policy (PNEEG), the Government aims to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls. Various actions undertaken have helped improve the educational enrolment of girls, which has increased from 93.5% in 2015 to 94.2% in 2016; the percentage of illiterate women stood at 49% in 2015, while the percentage of female parliamentarians (increased from 11.1% in 2012 to 18.7% in 2017) and that of female ministers (increased from 16.7% in 2016 to 21.7% in 2017) (SDG, 2017).

Food security: Efforts have helped increase the agricultural sector's contribution to the national GDP, which rose from 40% in 2015 to 41.9% in 2016. Since 2009, the country has recorded a surplus of grains and tubers thereby allowing it to export said products across the sub-region and thus contribute to improving the incomes of small-scale producers (SDG, 2017). In 2016, 90,000 tons food surplus was recorded. The prevalence of under nutrition, which was 15.3 % in 2014 decreased to 11.4% in 2016; representing a regression of 3.9 percentage points in 2016, more than 88,000 pupils in 304 basic schools benefited from the school canteen programme, and 20,669 pregnant women and nursing mothers of babies from 0 to 24 months as well as malnourished children benefited from the monetary transfer programme. Since 2015, intensive nutritional recovery and education centres have recorded 1,267 consultations. An overall number of 1,348 severe malnourished children were catered for and 1,177 children bade goodbye to malnutrition.

Health : The percentage of rural villages with a community health worker trained on integrated healthcare treatment for illnesses such as diarrhea, pneumonia and malaria was estimated at 45.4% in 2015 (SDG, 2017) and the cumulative density of health workers in the public sector has increased from 47 per 100,000 inhabitants in 2015 to 50 in 2016 (AFDB, 2019). However Togo still ranks among the countries with low levels of health human resources (ibid.) Togo develops a social coverage and health care provision scheme managed by the National Health Insurance Institute, Institut National d'Assurance Maladie, (INAM), which now covers all civil servants and will be gradually extended to other segments of the population (SDG, 2017).

Infrastructure: The rate of access to electricity in 2016 was estimated at 35.63% at the national level and 6% in the rural areas. Significant efforts have been made in terms of investments in road, port and airport infrastructure as well as promotion of the digital economy. Indeed, a new technology has been implemented based on farmers using mobile phones as electronic purse enabling them to directly receive government subsidies for the purchase of farm inputs especially fertilizers through mobile money transfer service of the Telcos. This technology eliminates intermediaries in securing subsidies to farmers and also ensures that farmers' subsidies are used for the intended purpose (SDG, 2017).

Environment: With an estimated forest coverage of 24.24%, Togo is losing its forest surface area at a high rate (5.1% between 2000 and 2010). The high deforestation and forest degradation trend in Togo has led to the formulation of a National REDD+ Strategy, to adapt to climate change, but also to develop the rural environment. About 12,000 hectares of land have been replanted, enriched or developed on behalf of the State forest estate. To minimize potentially negative environmental impacts, a decree on the Environmental Impact Assessment Procedure was adopted in 2017, replacing a 1988 provision. Togo has ratified the Framework Agreement for Establishing the Solar Alliance (ASI). Togo has a densely populated coastal area with large infrastructure and industries, as well as important economic centres. However, these coastal areas are frequently submerged and/or subjected to increasingly frequent erosion and/or flooding, which causes considerable damage. Togo's National Environment and Natural Resource Investment Programme (PNERN) has made coastal erosion a national priority. It is in line with the West African Coastal Areas Management Plan (SDLAO) for concerted actions, including with the local branches of the West African Coast Observation Mission (WACOM), an initiative involving more than 11 coastal countries from Mauritania to Benin, for coastline monitoring and coastal risk reduction in West Africa (AFDB, 2018).

SDGs (Sustainable development goals)	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Access to clean fuels and technologies for cooking (% of population)	4.0	4.5	4.9	5.4	5.9	6.2	6.7	—	—	—
Access to electricity (% of population)	30.8	33.7	36.2	41.1	45.7	48.2	47.4	48.0	—	—
Access to electricity, rural (% of rural population)	9.3	16.3	15.6	16.8	21.1	18.9	20.2	19.5	—	—
Access to electricity, urban (% of urban population)	66.5	77.9	75.7	79.0	83.2	84.4	87.1	88.8	—	—
Account ownership at a financial institution or with a mobile-money-service provider (% of population ages 15+)	—	10.2	—	—	18.3	—	—	45.3	—	—
Account ownership at a financial institution or with a mobile-money-service provider, female (% of population ages 15+)	—	9.2	—	—	19.1	—	—	37.8	—	—
Account ownership at a financial institution or with a mobile-money-service provider, male (% of population ages 15+)	—	11.2	—	—	21.5	—	—	53.0	—	—
Account ownership at a financial institution or with a mobile-money-service provider, older adults (% of population ages 25+)	—	11.0	—	—	21.2	—	—	45.8	—	—
Account ownership at a financial institution or with a mobile-money-service provider, poorest 40% (% of population ages 15+)	—	8.0	—	—	8.1	—	—	34.7	—	—
Account ownership at a financial institution or with a mobile-money-service provider, primary education or less (% of population ages 15+)	—	6.5	—	—	12.6	—	—	38.4	—	—
Account ownership at a financial institution or with a mobile-money-service provider, richest 60% (% of population ages 15+)	—	13.0	—	—	25.0	—	—	52.3	—	—
Account ownership at a financial institution or with a mobile-money-service provider, secondary education or more (% of population ages 15+)	—	20.4	—	—	32.6	—	—	58.1	—	—
Account ownership at a financial institution or with a mobile-money-service provider, young adults (% of population ages 15-24)	—	8.8	—	—	12.3	—	—	43.9	—	—
Adjusted net savings, excluding particulate emission damage (% of GNI)	2.8	-1.0	-11.6	-6.1	-5.5	-3.2	-6.8	—	—	—
Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women ages 15-19)	102.1	91.9	91.7	91.2	90.7	90.1	89.8	89.1	—	—
Adolescents out of school (% of lower secondary school age)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21.4	—	—
Adolescents out of school, female (% of female lower secondary school age)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27.7	—	—
Adolescents out of school, male (% of male lower secondary school age)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15.3	—	—
Agriculture, forestry, and fishing, value added per worker (constant 2010 US\$)	922.1	964.5	1,036.4	1,017.4	1,127.7	1,108.5	1,123.2	1,141.5	1,180.4	—
Air transport, freight (million ton-km)	53.2	53.4	53.7	32.4	41.5	7.4	8.3	8.6	10.9	—
Air transport, passengers carried	663,071	832,381	148,781	840,948	428,344	420,815	475,185	500,58	598,095	—
Annual freshwater withdrawals, agriculture (% of total freshwater withdrawal)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Annual freshwater withdrawals, domestic (% of total freshwater withdrawal)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Annual freshwater withdrawals, industry (% of total freshwater withdrawal)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Annual freshwater withdrawals, total (% of internal resources)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Source: Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (2019)

Conclusion

This chapter emphasized the theoretical (meso and grand theories) and grey literatures. It is primarily concerned with theoretical approaches as to how the Togolese food system will be effective in feeding the projected Togolese population of 15,416,505 (double of what is in 2019) and 10, 421,919 in 2030 according to UN projections.

The first section of the chapter elaborated the established link between diet, health and economic development. Both food quality and quantity are therefore drivers of economic productivity through health. How these variables can be effectively tackled to face future food challenges in face of the rapid population growth has led to focusing on governance and value chain governance theory precisely in section two.

The value chain governance theory is explored as ground to understand how anthropology and social psychology guide consumption patterns which shape then shape productions and productivity. Entrants as the nature of individual liberty and state intervention are also discussed as architects of the food system governance. Both the 2008 food crisis and 2007 flood in Togo raised many questions regarding food sustainability, consumption and production practices in Togo. Overdependence on nature's seasonality, imports and foreign aid have become problematic over the long term. In fact sudden climatic/economic shocks exacerbated inaccessibility to balanced diet. There are Togolese living on one meal per day and those with slightly greater accessibility to food are limited in terms of their nutritional needs. Low productivity combined with an increase in the population growth rate and the high cost of imports not only raises questions about supply and demand interdependence but also about macro-entrants as production methods and micro-entrants as individual expectations and motivations.

These justify the section three of the chapter which emphasizes population theory developed through fertility, family system and demographic transition theories, green revolution. The aim is to compare and contrast with other social profiles their context-

based value and outcomes on both physical, intellectual and economic wellbeing of individuals.

The philosophical review in section four addressed the scope of power of both authority and individuals in society and how their relationship constructs social systems. Rather than simply portraying one as good or evil, one must first consider the overall sacred social ambiance that serves individual and governmental drifts. Reportedly, the culture in Togo consists of traditional groups which may have limited power in their regions but strongly dominant over modern post-colonial institutions in localities. There is no unique social system, but a plurality of systems that led to distinctive secular community organizational patterns. The post-colonial institutions are viewed as unauthentic leading to its distrust to solve “real” complex local issues. Consequently, many see in the government a community that has taken over power through postcolonial schemes, not a representative institution of Togo in its plurality. Indeed data collected further revealed the power of communities’ ties in the perception of political decisions.

Context being a key driver of understanding, socio-economic and political factors in section five highlights interethnic tensions and spatial exclusion/inclusion, topographic disparities, social stratifications, and cultural norms play a part in giving a specific subsistence-based shape to the Togolese food system. Poor governance is often designated as main shaper of the weak productivity in Togo. Indeed, as productivity remains stagnant with whilst population continues to grow, the overexploitation of soil through archaic tools and models deteriorates the productivity of soils. However the social psychology behind governance is often overlooked. These include motivations for preferring imported foodstuffs, nutritional awareness, brain-drain, massive rural exodus among the youth when agricultural work is no longer attractive, misdistribution of resources distribution, ideologies on wealth cultivation. These provided a framework for patterning productivity trends on which action must be taken. Indeed the last section of the grey literature

highlights success and failures and limits of policy reforms undertaken in recent years toward a better quality of life for the human capital, a stronger productivity and economic development. The onsite investigation is expected to shed light on the specific immaterial mechanisms of the Togolese food system. In the next chapter the philosophical and methodological frameworks used to analyze the empirical data in view of the theoretical and grey literature are identified.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Introduction

This chapter underlines the philosophical and methodological positions of the research. The selected methodology encompasses a mutual dependence of qualitative and quantitative data. Precisely, the qualitative approach based on contextual interpretation conveys sense to the empirical literature. The philosophical realm of the research being phenomenology, the employed paradigm is critical theory. Phenomena are critically and analytically interpreted through abductive reasoning as to suggest theoretical hypotheses. Indeed, the theoretical interpretations of both participants' data and empirical literature remain tentative. A multidisciplinary methodology guides the data collection and analysis: Critical ethnography and alethic hermeneutics. The narrative is normative and aims at extensive descriptions of physical and socio-historical and political setting by connecting tangible and intangible patterns and trends. To capture the essence of local perceptions, proximity through interaction with participants is pursued as well as the distance required to ensure the minimum objectivity owed to the thesis's critical and pragmatist viewpoint. As such, the field work included multiple data collection methods: non-participant observations, surveys, structured and semi-structured interviews. The chapter is structured as follows: research philosophy, paradigm of inquiry, methodology, data collection and fieldwork presentation.

3.1 Research philosophy – phenomenology

Several reasons justify the choice of a phenomenological approach: Unpredictability, irregularities and intangibility factors in human affairs. Indeed because intangible drivers

are more critical to measure, they are often overlooked on positivistic grounds. The circumstantial²²⁹ truths or probabilistic understandings of the tangible/intangible phenomena remain open to falsification²³⁰. For Kant (1991[1793]:61): “theory was perfected only by future experiments and experiences from which the newly qualified doctor, agriculturalist or economist can and ought to abstract new rules for himself to complete his theory.” Rather than identifying causes and effects, this research explores the interconnections between patterns to reach a full understanding (Howell, 2013:25). Relatively grounded in a utilitarian perspective, facts/symbols are valued because they are functional, not ornamental. Meanings are pursued through suggestive interpretive theories of discourse. Harré (2012) epitomized social science as follows: “living in society – suddenly we can start to ask ourselves what it is it, and how does it work”. That is, social sciences concern with society as man’s own artefact; something he creates/makes himself as opposed to what existed independently of him. Beyond reported facts and statistics, perceptions from both investigated and investigator underpin the research findings. Empirical observation is not discarded but simply not analyzed empirically. Rather they are examined normatively through the Habermasian relativist pragmatism²³¹. Considered that facts are rooted in history and culture, phenomena are observed, examined contextually and interpreted accordingly. Thus, value of data is in social, historical and cultural meanings rather than mere observed data. As Husserl (1970:6) stated “Merely fact-minded sciences make merely fact-minded people...The mere science of bodies clearly has nothing to say; it abstracts from everything subjective.” Lastly, the research’s

²²⁹ “A program of ends and ideals if kept apart from sensitive and flexible method becomes an encumbrance. For its hard and rigid character assumes a fixed world and a static individual; and neither of these things exists. It implies that we can prophesy the future, an attempt which terminates, as someone has said, in prophesying the past, or in its reduplication” (Dewey, 1993[1927]:87).

²³⁰ “Theory involves interpretation through wide-ranging imaginative analysis and allows for multiple meanings, realities and uncertainty.” (Howell, 2013:25).

²³¹ “Habermas believed that the interpretive model is appropriate to cultural sciences such as history and anthropology, whose interest is in grasping and understanding complexes of subjectivity formed ways of life. But when it comes to social science, Habermas believed that both the ‘technical’ interest in control and the ‘practical’ interest in understanding are properly subordinate to an ‘emancipatory’ interest in liberation” (Dryzek, 1995:98-99).

phenomenological position involves culture related concepts as subjectivity, relativity, representation, intangibility, perception, and probability. Mind and world are non-dissociable since cultural filters, sensitivity and interpretation are intrinsic in humanity. To free the mind from prejudices (Kant) is to challenge the materialistic limits of positivist inquiries as to unleash imperceptible but insightful ‘truths’ in empirical investigations.

3.1.1 Aspects of phenomenology considered in the research

The research philosophy integrates aspects of historical and relativist realism which acknowledges object and subject as independent but complementary. Indeed, phenomenology for Kuhn (2012[1962]:182) is a “disciplinary matrix” or continuum of qualitative paradigms with varied levels of subjectivity and objectivity. So, far from being purely realistic, idealist²³² or solipsistic²³³, this research involves variable doses of subjectivity and objectivity. As such, various angles of phenomenology are exploited:

- Transcendental²³⁴ as intent and acts of consciousness’s relationship (Husserl, 1969:243).
- Hermeneutics or historical perspective that link time/future to ‘self’ (Dasein²³⁵).
- Hegelian self-recognition/awareness²³⁶ that ensures reflexivity in research.
- Symbolism (as in representation) or the notion of conceptualized²³⁷ reality.
- Existentialism²³⁸ that acknowledges contradictions and uncertainty in humanity.

²³² Schopenhauer’s idealism (world only perceivable subjectively) (Schopenhauer, 1966:5)

²³³ Berkeley’s perspective of the world as pure imagination (Berkeley, 1710).

²³⁴ “The science of the intentional correlation of acts of consciousness with their objects and that it studies the ways in which different kinds of objects involve different kinds of correlation with different kinds of acts” (Bernet, 1999:198).

²³⁵ “Dasein is in each case its own possibility, it can in its very being choose itself; it can also lose itself and win itself; or only seem to do so” (Heidegger, 2004 [1962]:68-78).

²³⁶ The acknowledgement of our own existence by treating the ‘other’ as a thing (Hegel, 1977).

²³⁷ “All my knowledge of the world even my scientific knowledge is gained from my own particular point of view or from experience of the world without which the symbols of science would be meaningless.” (Merleau-Ponty, 1999[1945]: viii)

²³⁸ Existentialists (Heidegger, De Beauvoir and Sartre) see reality as subjectively defined through experience, attainable objectively. “This being who exists before he can be defined by any concept, and that this being is man, or as Heidegger says, human reality...man exists, turns up, appears on the scene, and only afterwards, defines himself...existence precedes essences, or if you prefer...subjectivity must be the starting point...Man simply is.” (Sartre, 2001 [1946]:28)

3.1.2 Research ontology: Truth and reality

“Only in our subjective experiences of conviction, in our subjective faith, can we be ‘absolutely certain’.” (Popper, 2002[1934]:280)

Despite the convenience of fixing patterns, a pure positivist ontology²³⁹ is held here as naïve²⁴⁰. As critical thinking depends on its public use” (Kant, 1952), “usability” is decisive in judging the relevance of theory (Toulmin, 1953). This justifies the thesis’s normative and pragmatic perspective. The predominance of subjectivity owes to the fact that social science should involve subjectivity (along objective events) and relativism²⁴¹ (Guba and Lincoln, 1994:110). Cultural meaning and subjectivity²⁴² are valuable tools in the analysis. Thus the researcher being a native of the study area is not a handicap but a gain to the thesis. That is, only a native can navigate deeply and closely enough the society and capture the reality of daily experiences. Indeed, ends/facts/actions are unalterable and cannot be acted upon retroactively but understanding them from the perspectives of those experiencing them can be of efficient utility in policy-making. Where the report recommendations must be implemented, the study questions whether locals have integrated them as valuable. The Kantian duality of a-priori knowledge and a posteriori knowledge therefore apply through the acknowledgement of both appearances and essence Kant (1992:519).

²³⁹ Merely founded on data/facts (House, 1991:2). Objects have an existence independent of the knower (Cohen et al., 2007; Howell, 2013:10; Creswell, 2009:7). Even Auguste Comte, father of positivism acknowledged the metaphysical existence.

²⁴⁰ Even empiricists such as Bacon (1889 [1620]), Hobbes (2005 [1651]), Locke (1970 [1690]) or Hume (1957 [1748]) agree that pure objectivity is unachievable. They saw the world as accessible through observation and experience but acknowledged that experience was not necessarily perception-free.

²⁴¹ Social scientists support that there is nothing more abstract than objectivity when it comes to explaining and understanding human codes, emotions and experiences.

Weber (2011[1949]:80) maintains that in social sciences subjectivity was as intrinsic as " cultural psychic events for instance are 'objectively' less governed by laws...knowledge of cultural events is inconceivable except on a basis of significance which the concrete constellations of reality have for us in certain individual concrete situations... All knowledge of cultural reality, as may be seen, is always knowledge from particular points of view". That is, a material world exists but encompasses unveiled meanings grounded in culture, education and beliefs. Reality is dependent on history/experiences.

²⁴² Protagoras of Abdera (5th century BC) by stating that “man is the measure of all things: of the things that are that they are, of the things that are not that they are not”, suggests that human judgment was subjective (Wilson, 2013:273).

Local demands, assets, physical resources and skills are examined with respect to their correlations within society as the mere pursuit of causality can result in oversimplification. The thesis makes room for contextual considerations, hence more possibilities of reality are revealed via diverse hypothetical explanations.

While collecting data, it was highlighted that hunger, as referred to by the Togolese was not to be mistaken for starvation and used as a shortcut to say that one is struggling financially. Such subtleties underpin the study which analyzes agriculture within an evolving intelligent social and highly interpersonal environment. Linkages between eating patterns, food production and population size in relation to family configurations (e.g. hierarchies of gender, age, etc.) are scrutinized. As regards to connections between personal and interpersonal history, and geographic environments, the related complexities and their repercussions will be assessed. By doing so, the question of the relevance of a paradigm to inform the study of countries within a larger geographic perimeter with a supposedly shared culture is addressed.

Vico (1984 [1725]) claimed “*Verum ipso factum*”²⁴³. In fact, reality is pursued by questioning how norms are locally understood/enforced (e.g. class, gender, age, etc.) and how common culture and history shape the domains of and applicability of laws. As such, analytical interpretations are tentative and open to questioning and falsification.

In a fallibilist approach, every statement is suggestive because, “every corroboration is relative to other statements which, again, are tentative” (Popper, 2002[1934]:280). This is because civilizations as physical environment evolve.

By acknowledging numerical data, culture, symbols and the metaphysical dimension this thesis refutes a single material logic. The acceptance/integration of intangibility and immeasurability of social variables in the thinking process renders any absolutist conclusion impossible. That is, the choice of theoretical frameworks is based on matching

²⁴³ “Truth in itself is constructed” (Howell, 2013:16).

research area's data with past practical situations (evidence) upon which interpretive theories are constructed. Theories are fundamentally “situated in specific contexts and the experiences and perspectives of people and institutions within those locations...allow sense-making and are the means for making ideas fit with phenomenon; relationships between phenomena are made explicit.” (Howell, 2013:25). Questioning the existence mores/norms has led the thesis into exploring grand theories on the origin of society/government/justice. Examples include contractarian, utilitarian, pragmatic, natural, historical philosophies. The meso theories are related to family structure, social stratifications and justice and demographics, as well as substantive theories drawn from other statistical or qualitative studies. Thus, in place of reporting facts and their consequence, root causes are focus. The symbols and values that societal intangibles/tangibles have for informants will be ground for interpreting empirical literatures²⁴⁴. The poststructuralist approach used consists in constructively deconstructs facts to comprehend why and how they emerged. Dilthey (1988[1883]) underscored the necessity to try to restore meaning as first intended by the informant in terms of background and historical context. However, the informant's initial intention can be never purely understood (as understanding implicates personal background) despite the genuine desire to understand “objectively” the other's point of view (Gadamer, 1975[1960]). On the ground that behaviors shape/regulate the economy, when, how and by whom they are regulated all matter. In this case “when” mainly refers to the root causes of the fluctuation in the form because statistics alone cannot transform society unless their derived recommendations are fully and effectively integrated into daily experiences²⁴⁵.

²⁴⁴ The study of the empirical world occurs from the viewpoint of the person under study (Schmid, 1981; Sandelowski, 1986).

²⁴⁵ “In the absence of empirical data, estimates based on behavioral data should use an explicit model of the underlying behaviors, though far too often in the literature are not explicit. Those who are not clear about their framework of analysis may think they are revealing underlying truths unconstrained by such frameworks, but they are usually making implicit assumptions that mat upon examination not be plausible. Even if experimental data are available, care must be paid to the details and context of the experiments to interpret the results. And while experiments are to be encouraged, they have limitations, including not providing information about counterfactual policies, so they do not eliminate the need for careful economic modeling.” (Alderman, Behrman and Hoddinott, 2008[2006]:368-366.)

3.1.3 Research epistemology: accessing Knowledge

Distance or closeness with the investigated? For Mead (1934), interactions (instead of quantitative studies' positivist distance) between researched and researcher trigger the comprehension of symbolic interaction. That is, culturally/historically bounded symbols/norms are better grasped through interaction with participants (Howell, 2013:222; Cohen et al., 2007:19, Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 108-111).

Who better than locals know local needs and translate daily experiences and emotions?²⁴⁶

The man who wears the shoe knows best that it pinches and where it pinches, even if the expert shoe-maker is the best judge of how the trouble is to be remedied... No government by experts in which the masses do not have the chance to inform the experts as to their needs can be anything but an oligarchy managed in the interests of the few. And the enlightenment must proceed in ways which force the administrative specialists to take account of the needs. (Dewey (1993[1927]:187)

As stated in the previous section, the researcher being a native was beneficial rather than hindering to the thesis. As unobservable data is more likely to be disclosed in a trusted environment, the researcher, a native, knew the proper way to approach and interact with individuals without provoking distrust and tension from different local groups provided the politically troubled history of Togo. This occurs through a prior explanatory phase in order to install trust. Indeed, the researcher seeks knowledge in a foreign land, not as per her/his personal beliefs but as per the codes and beliefs of the research environment.

One thing that often stood up in the thesis is participants' unawareness/misunderstanding of policies because the messages were not engaging, did not resonate enough with their perspectives or do not reflect their actual experiences. Illustratively, if society was a computer, people, their values and history would be the software whereas land and resources would be the hardware. In this thesis, as understanding equals "interpretation" (Ricoeur, 2004:194) through local and historical lenses (hermeneutic phenomenology) a

²⁴⁶ For Dewey (2008[1929]:68) without ongoing experience (practice) in the community, and corrections over time, theory/truth is incomplete.

dialogic approach is inevitable. The mechanisms of cultural/historical singularities contributing to eating patterns are examined through a population-based sample. The likelihood that research findings are identical, even in neighboring societies, is weak when research focuses first on individuals/communities instead of the generalities which supposedly allow safe categorization. So, the linkages between specific dietary patterns and human, social and economic development are provided through local lenses²⁴⁷.

Participants are actors in generating knowledge. The thesis embraces transitive knowledge (posteriori/subjective) while advancing that if intransitive knowledge exists (a priori/objective), it must be investigated psychologically/culturally and metaphysically because it does not escape the influence of transitive knowledge. Participants' interpretations shape history²⁴⁸.

What contrasts in this thesis is the greater emphasis on cultural and human dimensions in food economics. It is achieved through highly interactive surveys but with the distance necessary to ensure the minimum objectivity required in a pragmatist approach. Rolfe (2006:304) emphasized various antagonist positions in qualitative research: "those writers who wish qualitative research to be judged according to the same criteria as quantitative research; those who believe that a different set of criteria is required; and those who question the appropriateness of any predetermined criteria for judging qualitative research." This thesis navigates on the last two positions. Indeed two methodological issues are often identified: "models used to evaluate quantitative research are seldom relevant to qualitative research" and "not all qualitative research can be assessed with the same strategies" (Krefting, 1990:214). In a post-positivist position²⁴⁹, the thesis pursues

²⁴⁷ Consequently "Dialogue is needed between the researcher and the researched and between past and present" (Howell, 2013:85)

²⁴⁸ "Self exists in relation to history and social existence; contemporary theory can be considered transitive and historical theory and interpretation intransitive" (Howell, 2013: 52).

²⁴⁹ Howell (2013: 82) notes that critical theory involves "...a critique of the dominant position of positivism". The data collected from a number of participants will be contrasted with relevant literature.

the share of objectivity and distance expected. The researcher relates to the researched throughout the study, but is neither embedded nor distant from society. That is, the investigator interacts with the investigated without soaking in the research environment. This is achieved through the use of semi-formal/formal setting or data collection techniques (observation, survey, structured, and semi-structured interviews) with the investigator's awareness that all data are implicitly or explicitly interpreted/biased based on participants' translations of local facts. Participants' voices are neither underrated, nor completely dominant in the ideological stance of the research. This sits in contrast to a participatory action research or constructivist paradigm despite the acknowledgement that data collected from participants has historical values and involve political and ideological bias that inevitably impact findings. Equally, it is acknowledged that as a native, the researcher is value bound, thus biased. Consequently, to ensure research reliability and validity, efforts towards objectivity through a rigorous and reflexivity/self-recognition²⁵⁰are crucial.

3.2 Paradigm of inquiry – critical theory

The research attempts to challenge the empirical hegemony of literature linked to food security in SSA, particularly those which through the observation of certain states establish patterns on the basis of 'cultural similarities'. Among participants, many accept their poor living conditions on the grounds of cultural principles which pragmatic foundation is never questioned. In that, the critical theory paradigm researcher goes beyond gathering and criticizing facts. Critical theory, Howell (2013:81) noted: "requires reconstruction of worldviews in ways that challenge and undermine what appears normal or natural...Engagement in critical theory research involves formulating a critical world

²⁵⁰ The mind becomes aware of itself through subjective and objective self-consciousness (Hegel, 1977).

in relation to a faint idealized world conditioned by equality, liberty and justice; critical theory is about hope in a cynical world.” According to Powers (2001:3) “the ultimate goal of a critical theory is the emancipation of human beings as a consequence of becoming aware of an alternate interpretation, which includes a different and better future.” Indeed, the worth of hypotheses resides in their practical outcomes and effects on positive social evolution or transformation²⁵¹. For Kant (1995:54), a critical position represents enlightenment or liberation from common judgment or ‘groupthink’ which demands courage. Pragmatically and illustratively, liberation from capitalism was for Marx a central position in criticizing the social order.

3.2.1 Pragmatism

3.2.1.1 Pragmatist ontology

Far from the contractarian and anti-contractarian debate, another school of thought challenges the legitimacy/worthiness of examining social/state origin to fix societal problems provided that societies evolve and transform. Dewey was one of the firsts to raise the matter. Putmann (2001:20/2005:99) distinguished Deweyian pragmatism and pragmatism in general: “pragmatism in general (and not only Deweyian pragmatism) is characterized by being simultaneously fallibilist and anti-sceptical, whereas traditional empiricism is seen by pragmatists as oscillating between being too sceptical, in one moment, and insufficiently fallibilist in another of its moments”. The contractarian traditions (Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, etc.) view social constructs as reflections of social justice.

²⁵¹ “Certain similarities between the strands of critical theory exist in terms of criticism of occidental complacency and that ruling elites and ideologies should be challenged as well as greater equality and liberty sought...Given these similarities it becomes possible to synthesize points of agreement and determine the basis for a paradigm of inquiry with a specific ontology, epistemology and appropriate methodological approaches. Such a synthesis exposes positions of power between institutions, groups and individuals as well as the role of agency in social affairs. In addition, this identifies the rules regulations and norms that prevent people from taking control of their own lives; the means by which they are eliminated from decision making and consequently controlled.” (Howell, 2013:77)

That is, pursuing fairness and protection for themselves and their property²⁵², men through their reason form a society to prevent chaos.

Inversely, Dewey (2008[1930]:123) argued that property was a social creation, a consequence of society, an outcome of societal interactions, not a cause²⁵³. Sceptical of utilitarianism and Enlightenment classical philosophers, he writes:

“A class of experts is inevitably so removed from common interests as to become a class with private interests and private knowledge, which in social matters is not knowledge at all... No government by experts in which the masses do not have the chance to inform the experts as to their needs can be anything but an oligarchy managed in the interests of the few. And the enlightenment must proceed in ways which force the administrative specialists to take account of the needs.” (Dewey (1993[1927]:187)

Dewey focused on the interdependency of society and individuals when facing actual needs²⁵⁴ rather than viewing them as associate entities (ibid.184). Influenced by Hegel, Dewey, as other pragmatists (Mead, James, etc.) concede that society/social distinctiveness should not only triggers self-consciousness but guides social discussion toward efficient measures.

Dewey (2008[1930]:121) notes: “Since individuality is a distinctive way of feeling the impacts of the world and of showing a preferential bias in response to these impacts, it develops into shape and form only through interaction with actual conditions; it is no more complete in itself than is a painter's tube of paint without relation to a canvas. The work of art is the truly individual thing; and it is the result of the interaction of paint and canvas through the medium of the artist's distinctive vision and power.”

²⁵² As property separates the most favoured from the less favoured.

²⁵³ By accepting the corporate and industrial world in which we live, and thus fulfilling the pre-condition for interaction with it, we, who are also part of the moving present, create ourselves as we create an unknown future”

²⁵⁴ For Dewey (1993[1927]:184) one reason for the comparative sterility in discussing social matters is that “so much intellectual energy has gone into the supposititious problem of the relations of individualism and collectivism at large, whole- sale, and because the image of the antithesis infects so many specific questions. Thereby thought is diverted from the only fruitful questions, those of investigation into factual subject-matter, and becomes a discussion of concepts.”

3.2.1.2 Pragmatist epistemology

Forces involved with contractarian theories are romanticized according to Dewey²⁵⁵.

The world has suffered more from leaders and authorities than from the masses. The improvement of the methods and conditions of debate, discussion and persuasion. That is THE problem of the public.
(Dewey, 1993[1927]:187).

According to Hickman (1992:168) Dewey considers that: “social-contract theories neither provide what they have historically claimed to, that is, causal explanations, nor do they do any useful work when regarded, as they now most often are, as a hypothetical limit and observation led him to conclude that the search for ‘state-forming forces’ uniformly leads to myths that are, at best unhelpful and, at worst misleading.” Equally, Habermas (1979:121) speaks of analysing and theorising through a circular process between societal and individual learning”. Thus, in his theory of communicative action, Habermas (2005[1981]: 400) considered some theories as “opaque figures of mythical thoughts” that are either absolutism (society as an organic whole universally) or atomism (extreme focus on the individual as distinct from the state). For Habermas theory must entail specific social realities²⁵⁶. Hickman (1992:169-170) interprets Dewey’s statement as follows: “An individual may be divided within him- or herself in terms of conflicting memberships, roles, and obligations”. However, to interpret these facts as grounds for hypostatizing ‘the individual’ and ‘the social’ as fundamentally opposed entities is to create what Dewey calls an unreal problem. Society is its people and people are their society. Likewise, history for Dewey (2008 [1930]:365) indubitably characterises interactions between present and past: “it is not the past which moves, which has force for it has ceased to be, and what does not

²⁵⁵ Hickman (1992:168) explains that “Dewey’s critique of traditional forms of epistemology sought to avoid the extremes of realism and idealism, his critique of traditional social and political theories sought to avoid the absolutism present in many versions of Marxism, as well as the atomism present in most political theories in the West.”

²⁵⁶ “Culture remains a super-structural phenomenon, even if it does seem to play a more prominent role in the transition to new developmental levels than many Marxists have heretofore supposed.” (Habermas, 1979:98). Habermas (ibid143-144) acknowledges “the leading role that the economic structure assumes in social evolution” and suggests that social structures be explained through a communicative action that “follow their own logic”. He contended that “general sociological points of view certainly permit a more concrete description of a given economic structure.” (Habermas, 1996:155). Outhwaite (2015:59) explains that “such principles are embodied in moral and legal systems, grounded in socially shared views”.

exist has no force. But we cannot know what exists; we cannot analyse and grasp it, unless we reconstruct its history”. Secondly, if an idea seems relatable with the present, it must then be studied in accordance with society’s practical situation. This justifies the necessity of qualitative approaches through interaction with participants in order to thoroughly understand phenomena²⁵⁷.

3.2.2 Historical and relativist realism: Pragmatic rhetoric

Whereas traditional theory comprehends the individual as a rule that simply accepts the basic conditions of his existence (Horkheimer, 2002[1972]:207), critical theory recognizes a cultural and historical entity composed of “relativist reality” and “historical realism”. In fact “most critical theorists consider that individual assumptions are influenced by social and historical forces and that historical realism provides a unifying ontological position.” (Howell, 2013:77). Kuhn ([2012]1962) advanced that scientific progress has primarily been about historical progress. Indeed, ideas about social reality today contrast with those from 20 years ago. Habermas (1973) noted that critical theory focuses on subjective situations related to individuals/groups and on factors that have caused situations.

Critical theory is concerned with how such factors can be dominated²⁵⁸ (Dryzek, 1995:99). Recognizing that facts are historical constructions requires considering that the history of a nation evolves through decisions and actions dictated by the context. Why those actions have been undertaken and evolve in certain ways matters²⁵⁹.

²⁵⁷ “A program of ends and ideals if kept apart from sensitive and flexible method becomes an encumbrance. For its hard and rigid character assumes a fixed world and a static individual; and neither of these things exists” (Dewey, 1993[1927]:87).

²⁵⁸ According to Dryzek (1995:99) Habermas’s view was that: “a critical social science theory is verified not by experimental test or by interpretive plausibility, but rather by action on the part of its audience who decide that upon reflection, the theory gave a good account of the causes of their suffering and effectively pointed to their relief.”

²⁵⁹ For Habermas “the task for the social scientist is first to understand the ideologically distorted subjective situation of some individual or group, second to explore the forces that have caused that situation and third to show that the forces can be overcome through awareness of them on the part of the oppressed individual or group in question.” (Dryzek, 1995:99)

This explains why the critical theory paradigm of the thesis relates to post-structuralism²⁶⁰. Since moral and ethical dimensions are weighty in social governance²⁶¹, social values define interpretive theories that relate to history and incorporate ethical challenges in state affairs. Thus, “there are close linkages between theoretical development and ethical reflection” (Howell, 2013:26). Findings and theoretical perspectives in critical theory are discovered because “the investigator and investigated are intrinsically linked through historical values which must influence the inquiry...Dialogue is needed between the researcher and the researched and between past and present... In this context theory is changeable and actions affect change” (ibid.85).

3.2.3 Pragmatic rhetoric: facts and theory reconciled

Habermas (2005[1981]:400) is suspicious of theories that are forced on phenomena and refers to them as “opaque figures of mythical thoughts”. Such ‘mythical thoughts’ have their roots in absolutism (society being as organic whole universally) and atomism (an extreme focus on the individual parts him from the state) with linkages to Hegelian dialectics. In light of the Deweyian pragmatism²⁶², he suggested that social structures be explained through a communicative action that ‘follows their own logic’ (ibid.1979:143-144). Indeed, for Dewey (1993[1927]:87): “...ideals, including that of a new and effective individuality, must themselves be framed out of the possibilities of existing conditions, even if these be the conditions that constitute a corporate and industrial age.” However,

²⁶⁰ “Facts are constructed in relation to values and meaning ...not about the accumulation of knowledge but political activity and social transformation” (Howell, 2013:81-82).

²⁶¹ “Governance is linked with leadership and ethics as it identifies the relationship between the individual and the community (the governance of society is shaped by contractual arrangements at multiple levels)...there is a clear relationship between governance , morality and the social contract as well as ethical perspectives relating to human existence and social development.”(Howell and Sorour, 2016:5)

²⁶² “One reason for the comparative sterility of discussion of social matters is because so much intellectual energy has gone into the supposititious problem of the relations of individualism and collectivism at large, whole- sale, and because the image of the antithesis infects so many specific questions. Thereby thought is diverted from the only fruitful questions, those of investigation into factual subject-matter, and becomes a discussion of concepts.” Dewey (1993[1927]:184)

focusing on existing occurrences does not imply that the past no longer has value. On the contrary, such a focus assists with attempts to understand the present²⁶³.

The critical realist and historical realist ontologies underpinning the research find purpose in the Deweyian relativist pragmatism. Truth is verified through experience or ‘actual events’ in the authentic setting, and reality echoes historical and social developments. “In a critical realist context, pragmatism considers that truth, knowledge and theory need to be verified through experience and practical application” (Howell, 2013:10-16). This perspective makes discourse and facts inert-explanatory.

Prejudice is challenged by confronting theoretical frameworks to current, local, cultural, social or political contexts, because the research is value-oriented. Objective truth or statistics are not re-established, but explained pragmatically through context and experience²⁶⁴. The normative approach is not systematic but pragmatic and is constructed from research experiences. In the context of social sciences, the interdependency of practice and theory (praxis) “provides the basis for knowledge generation and in-depth understanding” (Howell, 2013:10). Research findings therefore strive to draw on encounters/experiences in various settings as to have practical use in the investigated region, while demonstrating how such process can benefit other regions.

²⁶³ “It is not the past which moves, which has force. For it has ceased to be, and what does not exist has no force. But we cannot know what exists, we cannot analyze and grasp it, unless we reconstruct its history.” (Dewey, 2008 [1930]:365) And for Habermas (1979:121) we analyze and theorize through: “a circular process between societal and individual learning.”

²⁶⁴ This nuance is developed upon by Habermas (1979:21) for whom: “the learning process takes place in the dimension of moral insight, practical knowledge, communicative action, and the consensual regulation of action conflicts- learning processes that are deposited in more mature forms of social integration, in new productive relations and that in turn first make possible the introduction of new productive forces. The rationality structures that find expression in world views, moral representations, and identity formations, that become practically effective in social movements and are finally embodied in institutional systems, thereby gain a strategically important position from a theoretical point Of view. The systematically re-constructible patterns of development of normative structures are now of particular interest. These structural patterns depict a developmental logic inherent in cultural traditions and institutional change. This logic says nothing about the mechanisms of development; it says something only about the range of variations within which cultural values, moral representations, norms, and the like —at a given level of social organization—can be changed and can find different historical expression. In its developmental dynamics, the change of normative structures remains dependent on evolutionary challenges posed by unresolved economically conditioned, system problems and on learning processes that are a response to them.”

3.3 Research methodology

The research's philosophical/ideological position and paradigm of inquiry have guided the selected methodologies²⁶⁵. As noted earlier reality is considered here as shaped through history and social mechanisms. Accordingly, the global perspective can be referred to as 'historical realism' and 'critical realism' which incorporate both intransitive and transitive knowledge. In this sense, values, action, knowledge, and theory generation are inseparable (Howell, 2013:82; Horkheimer, 1972, House, 1991). In the thesis's context, reality and knowledge of the food economy are determined by Togolese historical/cultural values while acknowledging material data. Hence both qualitative and quantitative are considered. Quantitative aspects are emphasized throughout the research process since empirical evidence/facts are interpreted within various socio-historical and political contexts and confronted with onsite qualitative data. The approach describes qualitative research as the study of the empirical world from the viewpoint of the person under study Schmid (1981). It emphasizes the importance of perceptions and subjective interpretations in qualitative research. The methodology draws from the pragmatist traditions of Dewey (1950:12) whose theories based on Mead (1962:225) and Blumer (1969:71) seek "germs and roots in matters of experience". This is because behaviors, beyond what is observed by the investigator, entails the experience/perception of the investigated. Critical realism and historical realism emphasized earlier respectively refer here to critical ethnography and alethic hermeneutics methodologies used in developing the thesis.

Both methodologies are used complementarily and involve understanding actions/events through contextual clarification or interpretation. Observed of cultural behaviors for instance are interpreted in relation to the specific social or historical contexts of Togo. Anthropological information related to ethnography and culture contributes towards an

²⁶⁵ Different ontological positions result in different epistemological/methodological approaches (Grix, 2004:64), qualitative perspectives require that "we interpret or define each other's actions' rather than simply react to them (Blumer, 1962:179).

understanding of the linkages between demographics, topography, ethnicity, and the perceptual/ political impulses of participants in food as a socio-economic system. Hence, the ethnographic approach helps identify complex ethnic factors that cannot be elicited from existing data/statistics. Critical theory, the research paradigm of inquiry “resorts to interpretation based on hermeneutic discipline, that is, we employ hermeneutics instead of measurement procedure, which hermeneutics is not” (Habermas, 2004:11). Secondly, Heidegger’s “dasein” or concept of being involves a historical ontology or “process of temporality and being in the world” (Howell, 2013:86). This is mirrored by the ethnicity-history relationship.

3.3.1 Critical ethnography

The critical ethnographic approach endeavors to critically analyze, identify and evaluate the influences of consumption/production behaviors within the Togolese food economy. The critical ethnography methodology describes ethnography²⁶⁶ developed through critical theory, the central research paradigm which questions social orders, behaviors, norms and values both critically and ethically²⁶⁷. Critical ethnography looks at society’s flaws/inequalities from a critical position and “through a skeptical stance, ideas, norms, symbols and values, critical ethnographic methodology charts, assesses and analyses local social settings and groups within wider social contexts”(Howell, 2013:125). Here it is achieved by balancing quantitative and qualitative data²⁶⁸. The research covers such ethnographic-related fields as anthropology, the social psychology of ethnic groups,

²⁶⁶ Ethnography describes social groups (Howell, 2013:117) and realities from the “native’s” standpoint (Malinowski, 1922) without fear of cultural contamination. Research in relation to ethnography emerged from an interest in the origins of culture and civilization to describe social groups (Ibid.).

²⁶⁷ Ethical perspectives involve “value-judgements regarding what is good and /or what is right and, as with a descriptive judgement, a value-judgement is universalisable if it can be applied in similar and relevant situations” (Howell and Sorour, 2016:11)

²⁶⁸ Critical ethnography “focuses on the quality/quantity of data and data collection as well as the interpretation of this data through non-established modes of thinking. This such involves innovative methods of data collection and creative analysis” (Howell, 2013:125).

traditions, customs, and beliefs. The key purpose of such an approach is the attempt to understand behaviors and actions. More precisely, it serves for instance understand how certain cultural behaviors drive agricultural productivity or the extent to which some cultural groups are more productive than other groups even within the same region. Thus, cultural/ethnic behaviors and their impacts on economic development are analyzed through a dialogical and dialectical methods. Thus, in the course of the research open-mindedness and interactivity were cornerstone in explaining onsite decision making mechanisms and motivators.

While pursuing empiric evidence such as artefacts and documents, critical ethnographers interact with participants to ensure data quality. However, "...access to participant perspectives" is as important as avoiding "over-rapport" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:88). In fact, criticality differs from constructivist ethnography in which "multi-voiced and dialogical...builds on native interpretations and articulates what is implicit in those interpretations" (Denzin, 1989:120). A reflective process therefore ensures the minimum distance between researched and researcher as critical ethnographers must be aware of their influence on the data.

3.3.2 Alethic Hermeneutics

"Only man is historical – as that being which, exposed to all beings as a whole, and in commerce with these beings, sets himself free in the midst of necessity" Heidegger (1994:34).

In hermeneutics, knowledge is initiated by the interpretation of events in relation to specific social or historical context. Alethic hermeneutics considers that: "objectivity and subjectivity are always subsumed, and researchers are historically and culturally bound so an objective stance is impossible. Understanding is predetermined by our historical and cultural pre-conditioning" (Howell 2013:159). Indeed, for Heidegger (1994:34) the

pursuit of truth in human affairs cannot be external to historical context, but must involve a reflection on the past. “This incorporates historical ontology, a process of temporality and being in the world” (Howell, 2013:86). As Heidegger (1962) and Weber (1897), Gadamer (1970:87) contended, understanding is not “an isolated activity of human beings but a basic structure of our experience of life...we cannot reduce it to anything simpler or more immediate”. Thus, preconceptions are projections in the future of past encounters. They impact upon perception, analysis, and interpretation/understanding. “The point is not to free ourselves of all prejudice, but to examine our historically inherited and unreflectively held prejudices and alter those that disable our efforts to understand others and ourselves.” (Garrison, 1196:434). For Heidegger (2004:191,150) interpretation, and thus our understanding of beings is grounded in *dasein*/becoming as “something we have in advance – in a fore-sight, pre-grasp or fore-conception”. Interpretation is evolved through the researcher’s background and experiences. This process was identified as “the hermeneutic circle” by Dilthy (2002) and supported by Weber (2004) who agreed with both the objective and subjective arguments associated with Hermeneutics. Neither “subject” nor “object” is denied but both are considered interrelated. As Dilthy (2002) argues, the research distinguishes between the objective and subjective positions of researchers and understand individual events solely through a general perspective.

This methodology pursues historical meaning as hermeneutics involves “the business of interpretation” (Heidegger, 2004:7). As “understanding is interpretation” (Ricoeur, 2004:194) hermeneutics incorporates the “act of understanding texts” (Gadamer, 2004:157) or the way words are understood. Meanings behind actions/events are sought through social and historical clarification objectively, subjectively and inter-subjectively. The intrinsic motives behind the quest for understanding are themselves questioned. Unlike Alethic hermeneutics, phenomenological hermeneutics argues that an event/thing does not carry a single meaning, but instead involves multiple relative contextual

meanings (Howell, 2013:162). However the alethic hermeneutic as applied here may confer a single meaning to an event, but it also acknowledges that the symbolism of events or things will remain in the realm of relative interpretations. Indeed, Alethic hermeneutics contrasts with natural scientific methodologies that encapsulate knowledge into stationary causal explanations, whereas our inquiry makes meaning the compulsory key to understanding causality²⁶⁹.

The Hermeneutical methodology here consists of events interpreted in relation to specific social or historical context in Togolese ethnic societies. In West Africa, generally, access to historical data in written form is challenging. In part, the challenge will therefore be amplified within this methodology while attempting to collect accurate data onsite by triangulating data methods and data sources through subjects of different political leanings.

3.3.3 Abductive reasoning

The research is cautious with theory testing and generation. Although difference/peculiarity is emphasized as primary ground of interest and inquiry, the inductive inference is only partial. Despite the inductive inference, theory formation/reformulation is not the basis of inquiry. Local singularities are highlighted but realistically, all cultural groups could not be investigated. Indeed, besides the material and intellectual limits associated with gathering accurate supporting facts, the agents involved come from extremely diversified historical, cultural and ideological backgrounds. This may impact the transferability/ non-transferability of hypotheses but sampling are nevertheless representative. Using a family support group to identify persons who are typical of the membership is an example of this sampling strategy (Field & Morse, 1985).

²⁶⁹ For Dewey (1993[1927]:185), figurehead of pragmatism, in social sciences causation in social sciences is “an affair of historical sequence, of the order in which a series of changes takes place. To know cause and effect is to know, in the abstract, the formula of correlation in change, and, in the concrete, a certain historical career of sequential events.”

Interpretation based on symbolic interaction (Mead, 1934) is the key differentiator of theories and symbolize freedom from the type of ideological dictatorships. As such, the goal of a deductive inference in the thesis is to locate where facts resist theories given the recurring failures in terms of policy implementation and outcomes in Togo. Additionally, the deductive inference is manifest because of existing theoretical bias²⁷⁰ generated inside or outside the literature review scope. Contrarily to a pure deductive inference, the theoretical frameworks do not serve to test or validate theory. Instead, it serves simple verifications which underpin exhaustive/thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973:6) through “a selection of interpretive methods” (Vidich and Lyman, 2000:37-84) in order to challenge and stimulate the thinking and reflexive processes (Horkheimer, 1982:188). This approach ensures the interdependency of practice and theory/praxis as advocated by Charmaz (2000:16) and pragmatists such as Habermas or Dewey. For Horkheimer (1982:188) theory is “the sum total of propositions about a subject; the propositions being so interlinked with each other that a few of them form the basis, and the rest derive from these”. The researcher tries to move from “the description of social phenomena to detailed comparisons and only then to the formulation of general concepts” (ibid. 192).

Conclusively, both the deductive and inductive inferences²⁷¹ are present but are partial because theories are not tested but tentatively verified and data are not purely treated independently.

²⁷⁰ “The reality is that no one is able to enter the field with no pre-conceptions and hypotheses are generated through some understanding of the subject consequently a continuum exists with variable levels of a synthesis between deductive and inductive approaches utilized in research projects”(Howell, 2013:43).

²⁷¹ “While coding, we are constantly moving between inductive and deductive thinking” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:111). In social research, according to Howell (2013:82), basis propositions can be arrived at either inductively or deductively: “How the primary principles were arrived at is secondary as the important element is that division exists between conceptual knowledge and the facts from which this was derived; or those facts to be subsumed under this framework.”

3.3.4 Rigour and reflexivity in the research process

The worth of research lies in the rigour that underpins it in terms of trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Shenton, 2004:64-69; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:21, Silverman, 2000; Miles and Huberman, 1994; Guba and Lincoln; 1985). To grant research findings credibility, reliability and legitimacy²⁷², the data collection process integrated specific and diverse informant profile. Different actors/agencies were involved as beyond authenticity and empathy, different voices must appear in research conclusions (Guba and Lincoln, 2000:180). Except the healthcare and food industry stakeholders, individual profiles involved specifications as age, gender, family situation, size of household, occupation, work and home locations, socio-economic, status cultural group/ethnicity and level of education.

To install trust and attain the most accurate and authentic data possible data collection techniques were segmented on the ground of the friendliest setting for informants' openness, position, etc. However informal settings were not synonymous with lack of strategy. Coherence of data of collection method were matched with informant conditions to openness and willingness to repeat the questioning process. Furthermore, the data which were collected as well as the analytic categories, interpretations, and conclusions that were informed by these data were checked with participants (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) to ensure that their viewpoints were accurately translated into data (Krefting, 1990:219). During the data collection participants were asked to reframe/expand upon their answers on different occasions to ensure honesty (May, 1989:57-166). Finally, the research followed the principles of ethicality²⁷³ when interpreting and representing the lives or experiences of individuals (Howell, 2013:124). No participants were recorded without consent and

²⁷² In fact, rigour is more of a priority in social sciences than in the absolutist natural sciences because "individual situations bear relation to multiple interpretations" (Howell, 2013:183).

²⁷³ Habermas (1971) synopsized social sciences as human interactions based on ethical conducts.

those that refused to be recorded were not. Prior to interviews and surveys, the research goals were clearly exposed to all public (state representatives) and private stakeholders (private business and citizens). Sensitive subjects often related to private/mythical spheres were discarded when demanded.

Reliability and validity require accuracy, thoroughness, coherence and consistency and these are all attainable through verification strategies/techniques throughout the research process (Morse et al., 2002:13). Rigour in positivist settings is ensured through objectivity, 'hard' numerical data, regularities and observable, measurable facts" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992:6). In contrast, the phenomenological nature of this research is based on appearance and essence duality. That is, rigour is verified through the necessary embracing of subjectivity, of human, circumstances and of interpretative and reflexive dimensions. Subjective meanings/perceptions and experiences of the investigated and are approached as key determinants (Krefting, 1990; Sandelowski, 1986); Schmid, 1981).

Trustworthiness (instead of validity²⁷⁴ in positivist inquiry) was pursued to ensure the researcher can 'gain knowledge and understanding (Leininger, 1985:1-28). Indeed, trustworthiness questions "whether access to knowledge and meaning has been realized" (Howell, 2013:188). Knowledge and meaning are checked through authenticity and the trustworthiness of findings. Embodied within trustworthiness are "credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (which) replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:21). The ultimate line of causality or internal validity contradicts phenomenology, and is thus replaced with 'credibility' which refers to "the extent that findings can be believed" (Howell, 2013:190). Evidences remain necessary.

²⁷⁴ Validity "involves the extent to which measurement is accurate and what is supposed to be measured actually is" (Op.cit.188). Measurability, immutable causality (internal validity) and generalization (external validity) are less relevant to phenomenological inquiries (Sandelowski, 1986:27-37). In such cases, other terminologies are used. With the same rigour objectives, validity and reliability become 'trustworthiness' (Guba and Lincoln, 1985) and speak to the 'credibility and accuracy of representation, and the authority of the writer' (Agar, 1986).

To ensure credibility, the research followed the synthesized guidelines of Guba and Lincoln (1985), Miles and Huberman (1994), Silverman (2000) and Shenton (2004:64-69). Familiarity with the culture of the researched was ensured and allowed the informed sampling of participants. Verification of data is achieved by triangulating methods (Knafl and Breitmayer, 1989:193-203), data sources and theories to interpret experience or occurrences. Diversified interpretations and discussions of events are also key to this approach. Other techniques involved repeated/expanded questions on different occasions (May, 1989:57-166), and the recording of findings which are re-audited and re-examined. In place of generalization²⁷⁵, the term ‘transferability’ is applied in this research process through nominated samples designated by local participants as suggested in various qualitative research guidelines (Guba and Lincoln, 1985; Field and Morse, 1985). The regional conclusions can be extended to districts, towns and provinces they encompass. In place of positivist reliability²⁷⁶ the ‘dependability’ of methods (Guba and Lincoln, 1985) were tested through audits of raw data including audio recorded data. Dependability was also tested through literature, field notes, data syntheses and surveys. So several sources support the interpretive claims (Guba, 1981). It was ensured that all voices were equitably heard in the conclusion, and that ontological authenticity and empathy occurred. “Individual thought is enhanced by taking into account the thoughts of others. We compare and contrast the possible judgments of others by putting ourselves in their place through imagination and empathy... Critical thinking is only possible when the judgments of others are brought into equation; when the standpoints of each and all are open to inspection” (Howell, 2013:13).

²⁷⁵ Generalization or external validity is the ability to generalize from the research sample to the population” (Payton, 1979, Krefting, 1990:215). This approach is not always effective (Sandelowski, 1986:27-37) because researchers, situations and participants have unique characteristics that are non-transferable and only relevant to the particular phenomenon under scrutiny.

²⁷⁶ Reliability implies replication. Since only stable experiences are duplicable, reliability hardly suits phenomenological studies such as this one because “it is difficult to ensure high levels of both reliability and validity because if one is to accurately identify what is actually occurring in specific situations, it is necessary to go beyond the survey and involve oneself in the context of the research”. (Howell, 2013:182).

Confirmability concerns the balance between subjectivity and potential biases²⁷⁷ of the researcher. As the researcher is a native of the research area, self-reflection was necessary to assess “the influence of the investigator’s own background, perceptions, and interests on the qualitative research process” (Ruby, 1890:153-179). Consequently the researcher’s background and personal bias were emphasized throughout the thesis. As recommended by Maykut and Morehouse (1994:6) the investigator acknowledged (in the research conceptual framework) her personal/professional background, qualifications and experience since these affect the research. Reflexivity is pursued in an attempt to relate to an objective reality because it “uncovers the mirage of total separation of researcher and researched” (Howell, 2013:52). It involves “thinking critically about different conceptualizations of self...Each self requires interrogation regarding relationships with and formation of the research process” (ibid.186). Rheinharz (1997:3-20) identified three selves: the researcher’s role, the socio-historic construct, and the research construct. Reflexivity or self-analytical process (Hertz, 1997:8) helps enhance neutrality and minimum objectivity. This is required of critical theory since it ensures the researcher is aware of his/her influence on the data (Krefting, 1990:221).

Both critical ethnography and alethic hermeneutics methodologies require “reflexivity”, “a central mechanism for critical theory” (Howell, 2013:81). This mechanism incorporates an iterative and interactive dialogue about past experience in relation to present perspectives and future possibilities. That is, “the paradigm is no longer the observation but the dialogue-thus, a communication in which the understanding subject must invest part of his subjectivity... takes into consideration the relationship of inter-subjectivity and the relation between ego and group identity” (Habermas; 2004:10-13).

²⁷⁷ “Thinking critically does not simply apply to received doctrines and systems but to one’s own thought and the prejudices and traditions one inherits. By taking a critical stance in relation to one’s own thoughts one develops the art of critical thought” (Howell, 2013:13). Through reflexivity researchers “identify their socio-historical location and become aware that they carry a historical perspective of the situation or problem under analysis. Findings, one way or another are “co-created with the researcher and researched” (ibid.186)

Critical subjectivity is not only about the researcher's awareness of his/her own metaphysical existence or self-reflection and influence over the research outcomes. Critical theory involves reflective action and "...specifically the reflective action of those individuals and groups involved in the research program." (Howell, 2013:83).

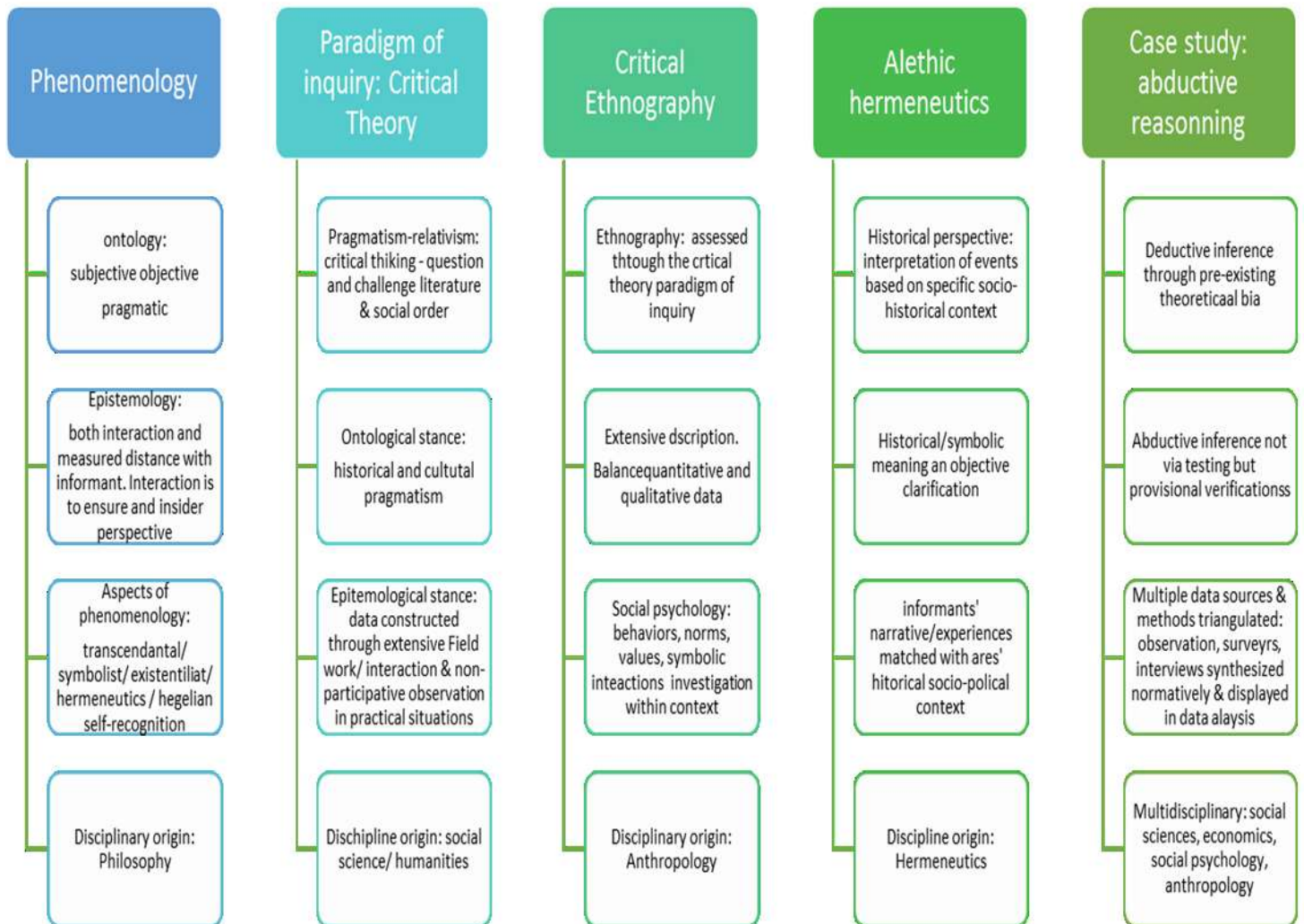
Reflexivity is necessary in the critical examination of social conditions through different perspectives because it:

may guard against levels of projection and selection that could misrepresent the objective reality... knowledge is always gathered or derived through a selection process and reflexivity uncovers the mirage of total separation of researcher and researched... from a realist position, reflexivity enables critical comprehension of this position and the extent to which this affects the study because it is impossible to remove the researcher and the bias involved from the investigation. (Howell, 2013:52)

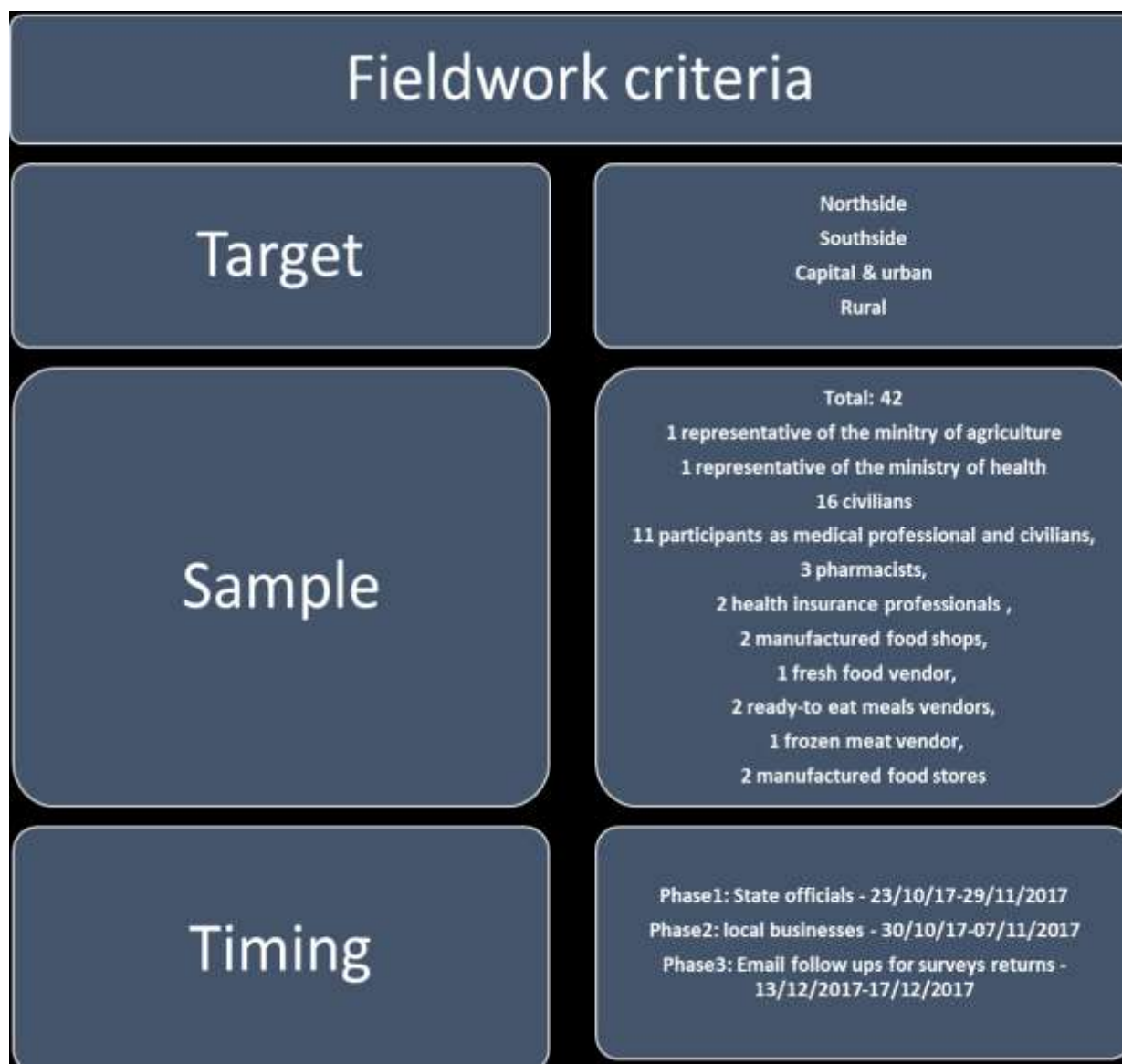
Hertz (1997: 8) described reflexivity as "a continuing mode of self-analysis and political awareness). Thus, to ensure rigor in phenomenology²⁷⁸ in terms of trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability a reflexive auditing based on recordings and data journals was implemented throughout the course of the research.

²⁷⁸ The researcher, according to positivists remains a unique outsider regardless of the setting in which he/she collect data as long as quality criteria such as validity, reliability and generalization are achieved. Such criteria require stability/consistency in events. This is almost impossible in phenomenological studies such as this because of instable variables, intangibles and unpredictability in human affairs.

3.4 Snapshot at the methodological framework



3.5 Data collection



3.5.1 Study organization:

Various organizations and agencies have participated in the study. The ministry of health, the ministry of agriculture, pharmacists, healthcare industry stakeholders and academic professionals including doctors and medical students were all consulted in this research.

In addition, street medication vendors, food industry stakeholders including those representing convenience stores, open air markets, street vendors and restaurants were also consulted. Individual citizens from different regions and cultural/ethnic origins were also contributed to the stock of data. The study was prepared across three phases:

1. The first phase ran from October 23rd through to November 29th 2017 and this involved contact with officials by phone and in face to face interview settings.
2. The second phase took place between the 30th October and November 7th 2017 through face to face interviews with formal and informal business owners and private citizens.
3. The third phase was carried out between the 13th and 17th of December 2017 and this was based on email questionnaire exchanges.

3.5.2 Stakeholders

Promoting a healthy food environment, including food systems which promote a diversified, balanced and healthy diet, requires involvement across multiple sectors and stakeholders, including government, and the public and private sector.(FAO, 2015)

After being introduced to the aim the topic, participants signed consent forms to participate in the study. Although less in number, state and private agencies were firstly consulted as their availability was subject to administrative planning. The ministries of health and food were questioned on issues, challenges and recommendations. Cross-sectional investigations followed. The health sector involved individuals and agencies with expertise in healthcare: health professionals, medical students, pharmacists were questioned on issues, challenges and opportunities while traditional healthcare providers and street-medication vendors were consulted on their practices and social roles. The food sector participants entail ready- to eat food vendors, fruits and vegetable retailers and imported food retailers questioned on their practices and consumers' behaviors. As to private citizens, sample entails individuals ranging from 15 to 65 years of age questioned

on their household dietary habits, cooking, and food purchase behaviors. The individuals were asked to share their experiences, and perceptions/feelings relevant to the present conditions when it comes to food consumption patterns. They were asked to discuss their expectations, proposals and perspectives for the future. The sample was not considered to completely empirically represent the entire Togolese nation's profile as a whole.

Civilian sample group characteristics	
Occupation	
social-economic status	
Work location	
Home Location	
Household size	3-6 monogamous family/ 6-12 polygamous
Age group	56% 18-39 / 13% 10-17 / 25% 40-60
Gender	56% male / 44% female
Ethnic origin	25% southerner / 75% northerner

3.5.3 Summary of process onsite:

The investigation was divided in three main sections. The first and second sections emphasize food and healthcare sector stakeholder-participants divided respectively in the public sector and the private sector. The third section relate to civil/private citizen namely rural and urban locals, food industry actors and academics. The key findings from stakeholders in each industry (food and health) are structured in three sections and a fourth section identifies findings from civilians:

Public sector:

- Food: Decision-making/enforcement officials - Ministry of agriculture
- Health: Decision-making/enforcement officials - Ministry of Health
- Health: State healthcare professionals' interviews

Private formal and semi-formal/informal sectors:

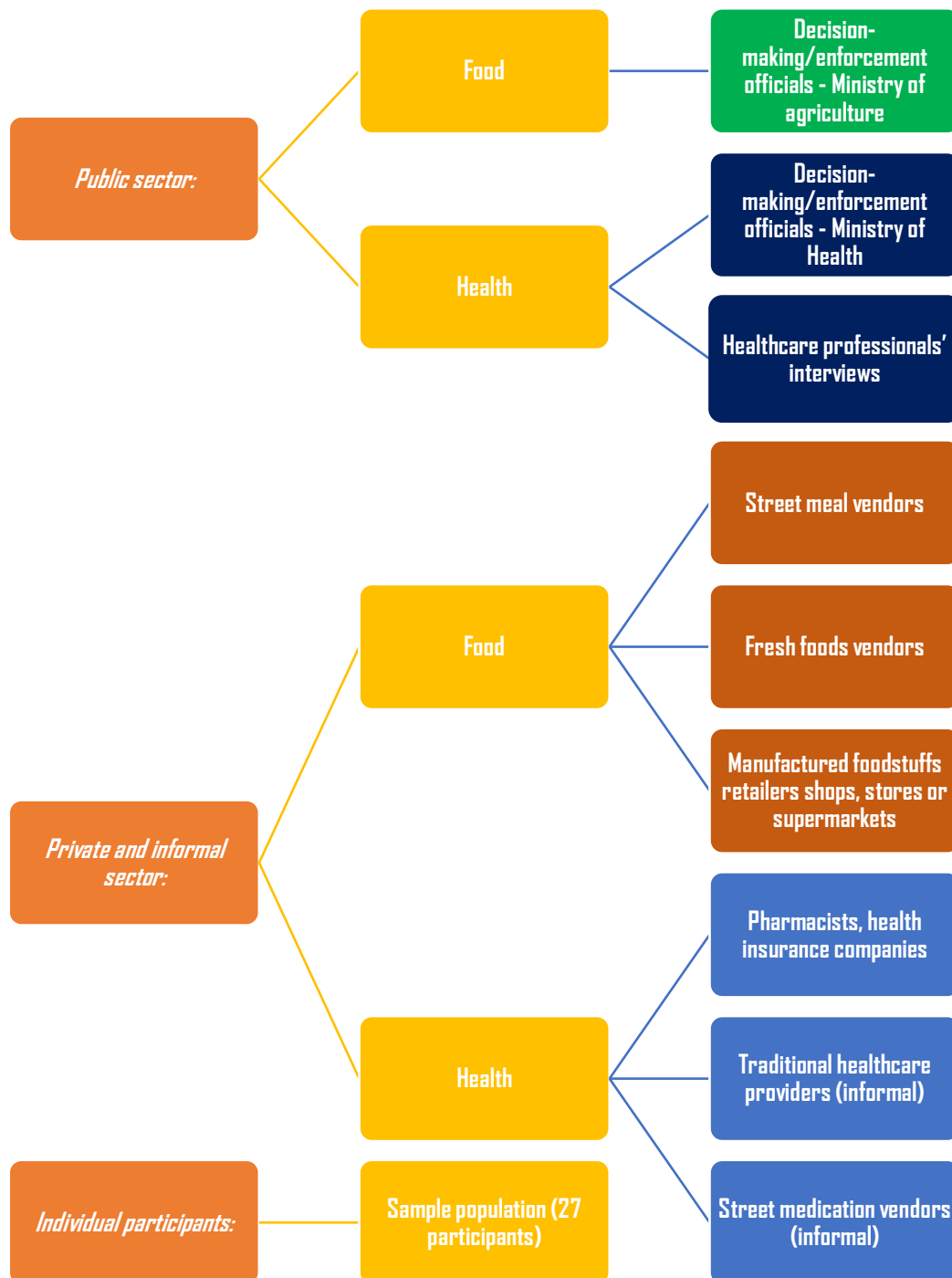
- Food: Street meal vendors, fresh foods vendors and manufactured goods retail shops, stores or supermarkets (semi-formal/informal)
- Health: Pharmacists, health insurance companies
- Health: traditional healthcare providers (informal)
- Health: medication street vendors (informal)

Individual participants:

- Sample population (27 Togolese interviewees conducted in October and November 2017 for the study).

At the start of each interview, participants were asked to describe their personal dietary habits openly and were invited to share and explain their experiences about outfalls they had identified in their households. The participants, all Togolese citizens aged between 14 and 65 years had different professional, and cultural backgrounds. Most live in the capital city and others regularly travel between the capital city and the village where their families were based.

Data collection process summary



3.5.4 Methods of data collection

3.5.4.1 Interviews:

Questions were prepared in advance for all stakeholders involved in the study. Each participant was asked if the interview could be recorded. When permission was not given, answers were written down for accuracy.

3.5.4.1.1 Individual participants

Many questions were reviewed, reexamined and reformulated based on sense checking. “Nutritional intake” for one, was a term that many did not even know about. Worse, many did not see how food could be an issue as long as the stomach is not empty. Housing as a legacy for the progeny is a priority. Thus, discussing quality food as an investment in a healthy future never appeared obvious to several participants. Thus, certain questions needed to be adapted or further explained.

As a native it was easy to adapt to the local language, body language, manners and behaviors of participants and this put many of them at ease since they were comfortable dealing with a ‘child of the country’. Initially, when the researcher defined the implications of research some were concerned about the use of data and anonymity. In certain cases, instead of reading the questionnaire, questions were memorized and asked in a less formal manner.

3.5.4.1.2 Private businesses

As most businesses are informal and semi-informal (about 85%) business stakeholders were very suspicious and vague in providing answers, because they were concerned the way in which they conducted business might be exposed through this research as illegal. The researcher met with a frozen goods vendor who claimed that, in terms of meat, Togo only approves the sales of frozen chicken and fish, yet on many occasions customers bought

pork sausages. Some returned goods that were surplus to requirements. These returned goods which were no longer frozen were then returned to the freezer. The informal nature of business allows everyone to make a living when the government cannot assure jobs for all. However, this involves all sorts of clandestine illegal practices. At first, the interviews were managed by reading the questions from a piece of paper, but this aroused suspicion as only bureaucrats read from paper.

3.5.4.1.3 State officials (ministries of agriculture and health)

Participants in this category had limited time and so the questions were condensed and this carried some implications for the breadth of data gathered. Interviews were recorded with consent to ensure that no data were lost.

3.5.4.1.4 Language

Mead (1934:244) noted that: “in man the functional differentiation through language gives an entirely different principle of organization which produces not only a different type of individual but also a different society”. Drawing on such claim, Habermas (1987:5) linked language to social interactions from a philosophical standpoint: “In communicative action, beyond the function of achieving understanding, language plays the role of coordinating the goal-directed activities of different subjects, as well as the role of mediating in the socialization of these very subjects.” As such, during the research, informal settings interviews were performed in the popular local language, Ewe by the researcher or with the help of a translator when it was another local dialect/language.

As a native the researcher is aware that the relationship to the colonial language is different compared to Ivory Coast or in Burkina Faso. A popular Ivorian form of French even exists in West Africa. Seemingly, in Togo French, the official language as a legacy of

the colonial period creates unease, making people ‘feel inauthentic’²⁷⁹. Most conflicts are resolved in the community instead of based on modern justice from the courts in part because the judiciary language remains too complex for most. This applies to all high institutional levels of the state governance. The French language is mandatory in schools, and students are reprimanded when speaking native languages in school premises. Hence the fact the interviews could be undertaken in local language comforted and engaged the participants. Indeed, Habermas (1996:408-458) states that: “under post-metaphysical conditions, the only legitimate law is one that emerges from the discursive opinion and will formation of equally enfranchised citizens...The only regulations and ways of acting that can claim legitimacy are those to which all who are possibly affected could assent as participants in rational discourses”.

3.5.4.2 Observations

There were no distinct sections per say, because many interviews took place in the workplaces or private spaces of individual participants. While running semi-structured interviews with individual participants, key data were noted down. Participants involved in observations mainly are individual participants, informal business sector and some formal businesses as drugstore or semi-informal enterprises.

3.5.4.3 Surveys

Questionnaires were sent via e-mail and returned later. Participants were employed in offices based occupations, or were scholars with access to the electricity, a computer and the internet. The survey mainly involved the technical and established middle class citizens from across the different cultural groups.

²⁷⁹ As matter of fact, research participants were more opened when the interviews occurred in a local language.

3.6 Fieldwork, rigour and reflexivity

Multiple data collection methods and data sources are used. These include participant and non-participant observation, surveys, structured and semi-structured interviews. The researcher's interaction with participants enabled linkages between the study area literature and actual local conditions. In the meantime, quantitative techniques were also used since critical ethnography focuses on data while ensuring "that the critical theory paradigm of inquiry and specific theoretical frameworks guides analyses" (Howell, 2013:126). The data collection process involves triangulating methods and data sources as documents/archives and participant statements in the pursuit of research reliability and trustworthiness (Knafl and Breitmayer, 1989:193-203). While gathering data, in addition to surveys and observations, hybrid unstructured/semi-structured interviews were undertaken as "the main emphasis of the critical ethnographic approach should be the reflective analysis of numerous and comprehensive observations" (Op.cit.p125).

Interviews

The structured interviews concern government representatives in the health sector (ministry of health) and food sector (ministry of agriculture) as well as pharmacists and health insurance companies. The semi-structured interviews were conducted either by phone or in person with civilians and family members from sample ethnic groups. Among these, farmers, street medicine and fresh or cooked food suppliers/vendors/retailers, traditional health practitioners. Interviews (structured or semi-structured) were adapted to the relationships between interviewer and interviewee as well as the social setting/dynamics that determine and mold knowledge/understanding. These hybrid structured/unstructured interviews "provide a set of pre-conceived questions but these are not closed and allow for deviation and more open discussion." (Howell, 2013:199).

Observation

Non-participatory observations within natural settings requires the researcher to be part of the situation under investigation and to remain external to the activities undertaken by the group under scrutiny (Howell, 2013). This observation method performed on private civilians was triangulated with surveys and hybrid unstructured/semi-structured interviews in a reflective approach to minimize the Hawthorne effect²⁸⁰ while ensuring research impartiality and sincerity of statements. The non-participatory observations are the researcher's interpretations of events in the setting where data collection occurred. Unplanned observation also occurred during interviews in the workplace where certain behaviors were worth reporting although they were not initially thought of.

Surveys

Closed and open-ended questions surveys main target supply chain stakeholders and academics (university students and graduates). Clear questionnaires were sent by e-mail or fax or over the phone depending on the availability of respondents. Closed questions based on Likert scales were formulated by taking into consideration the participants' social setting and conditions. Open-ended questions were used to enrich the data.

Rigour and reflexivity

Despite flexibility in the thinking process, rigour was ensured through the use of literature and field data to strengthen the study in terms of trustworthiness, transferability, dependability and confirmability of analysis. Interpretive theories formed the backbone to hypotheses to assist with future investigations. Rigorous reflexive processes were carried out to acknowledge bias as regards the investigated and investigator in this research. "Research situations are dynamic, and the researcher is a participant, not merely an

²⁸⁰ the effects of subjects' awareness of their evaluation as participants of a research study (Crosby et al., 2011)

observer. The researcher must analyze himself or herself in the context of the research” Aamodt (1982:209-220). Reflexivity or awareness of bias involves an iterative and interactive process that requires recognition of both objective and subjective inclinations and researcher and participant behaviors. The research agrees that theorizing incorporates engagement with participants whilst also bringing abstract conceptualizations to bear upon investigations. Theorizing stimulates imagination and provides further lenses and perspectives for comprehending data (Howell, 2013:25). In fact, beyond stating correlations between cause and effect, comprehension from the participant’s perspective is essential.

Overall, methodologically, locals are the core of the thesis because all ills and social problems require a proper diagnosis to be adequately treated²⁸¹. Interaction with the object of study were therefore crucial. It is equally important to make clear how the current societal discourse²⁸² relates to past and future discourses because: “the production of shared meanings is mediated by a very wide range of mediated means or cultural tools such as language, gesture, material objects, and institutions which are carriers of their sociocultural histories” (Scollon, 2001:7). Studying broad social groups may be too ambitious, but as this thesis attempts to denounce hasty generalization built on the grounds of “cultural similarity” normative including unapparent knowledge is pursued. The ambition is to determine the value of such approach in bringing value to the study of food challenges in the Togolese context.

²⁸¹ Rousseau (1979:134) stated: “When, due to particular circumstances we cannot have an exact idea of distance, and we can judge objects only by the size of the angle or, rather, of the image they form in our eyes, then we necessarily make mistakes about the size of these objects”.

²⁸² “The general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualized group of statements, and sometimes as the regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements” (Foucault (2002[1969]:90).

Conclusion

Based on the critical theory paradigm, the research is predominately qualitative. Subjectivity in terms of interpretation, and objectivity in terms of empirical data are both acknowledged. Interpretations reflect theories and experience of participant as a form of critical praxis that involves both empathy and the maintenance of a 'safe' distance from the investigator. Interactions remain essential to the thesis's quest to grasp the understandings of social phenomena when opaque statistics, generic studies or regional analogies lead to misinformation. Accordingly, the study undertakes a normative approach to local challenges linked to consumption patterns and their socio-economic impacts. Both Alethic hermeneutics and critical ethnography methodologies have guided this research. The overall research process was abductive (both inductive and deductive). The inductive reasoning focuses on normative singularities. However, the incapacity of collecting data from every ethnic group keeps the study from being purely inductive. The deductive reasoning owes to the interpretive theories not used for testing or validation but timely verifications. Because the thesis refutes a singular perspective, several interpretations involved diverse angles of food problems in Togo. Overall, a mutual dependence exists between the inductive and deductive inferences allowing relative generalizations based on sample groups picked from the main ethnic zones in Togo.

In terms of micro-data, civilians' from different ethnic groups with different political impulses were involved in the project. These groups are representative of their region and wider regional populations. Profile characteristics included age, gender, occupation, family situation/ marital status, household size, ethnic group, level of education, habitat location, and type of accommodation, workplace location and socio-economic status. In terms of macro-data, healthcare and food sectors stakeholders were able to provide specialized expertise on national and regional foods and health economics and challenges. The outcomes are intended to serve as a tool to develop a better understanding of the

challenges and opportunities within and between the two sectors. In addition, primary research data came from small businesses but also individual entrepreneurship in an examination of local dietary patterns and the direct health implications of these. Overall, participants represented the food and health sectors at the state and private levels as well as formal/informal business stakeholders and individuals across Togo. The data yielded in terms of the above discussion was more detailed than estimated, as many questions which would have made sense in a Western setting for instance had little or no direct relevance in the Togolese cultural setting. This only confirmed that the system of investigation as previously stated needs to be coherent with local realities. This critical hermeneutic and ethnographic study challenges the broad empirical literature through a country-specific analysis of some of these factors. Cultural pragmatism (Habermas) precedes economic pragmatism (Dewey), as the research looked at and adapted to identities and behaviors by investigating eating patterns drawn by the traditional and regional legacies. The knowledge of local languages and codes by the researcher facilitated interactions with participants. Indeed, locally, both inquisitiveness and criticism are extremely sensitive matters. This is exacerbated by the socio-political tensions in the country. Question formulation needed to be adapted to the participants/setting, even reformulated during questionings. Based on certain locals' advice, some interviews required the researcher to be the less formal possible in order to gain more insightful data. Several participants admitted that simple fact that the researcher is non-Caucasian, Togolese and spoke local languages triggered openness and affected posture. Indeed, compared to semi-structured interviews in a local language, surveys and formal structured interviews performed in French were limited in terms of in-depth details. Overall, reflexivity was ensured through the recording and monitoring of findings onsite in a "reflective commentary". This meant that self-reflection and bias as both researcher and native of the study area was acknowledged as influential on key findings and their interpretation.

Chapter 4. Data analysis

Introduction

In this chapter the collected data are exposed and analyzed. By approaching the civil society as well as the food and health industries at large, the research aims to identify determinant country-specific variables in the literature on the Togolese food economy. The goals to gains in terms stimulating a paradigm shift from economic pragmatism to extensive cultural pragmatism when investigating food problems. In order to evaluate the pertinence of understanding local dietary patterns and food-wellbeing interactions in Togo, interviews, surveys, and observations were performed by interacting with participants. The intention is to examine, using a qualitative approach, a food economy distinctively from the greater region it is part of by using Togo, a small Sub-Saharan country as a proxy. If the power of cultural values appear to outweigh the statistics in terms of impact on the economic welfare, it would pay to consider phenomenological approaches in further analyses. The alethic hermeneutics and critical ethnography methodologies serve to access personal/interpersonal experiences that shape communities' common legacy. Hence, historical and cultural contexts forming an understanding of food security and safety status. Three questions guide data collection and analysis:

- What are the current conditions of dietary food patterns with regards to health?
- What deficiencies/challenges are identified at the individual and national levels?
- What needs to be done to improve the situation?

As such, in the first section results from food and health sectors and private citizens are exposed. A summary is presented after each set of result. The second section consists of a synthesis of the summarized findings. The third section provides the analysis of findings. The sections four and five respectively outline the research contributions and limitations.

4.1 Data- Results and summary

The following reports and synthetizes the collected data from all participants.

4.1.1 Food sector

4.1.1.1 State- The ministry of agriculture representative

Lomé, 26.10.17, 10:50:32

- recorded interview

Questionnaire #1- PUBLIC SECTOR – Ministry of agriculture representative

1- How would you describe in a few words the food industry in Togo?

An industry whose fabric is abstracted to a few small industries and to very small and medium-sized enterprises: brewery industry, Nyoto oil mill, Fan milk (chocolate and yoghurt) company of large mills (import wheat and transform into flour). Apart from these four large units, most of them are very small enterprises which are small-scale production units with very variable scales, such as the production of a few tens to a few thousand bottles of juice here, tomato puree and oils. Local juices (80-90%). With regard to local products, Togo remains surplus in food production except rice, of which Togo imports for a part the consumption (the local covers 90% of the consumption and 10% in import) meat 40-50% imported and produced. Fisheries (over 70%). Apart from these three speculations, we have surplus cereals (corn surplus ranging from 36,000 to 200,000 tons each year since 2010), tubers and roots (yams, cassava) and we supply the sub-region.

2- What difficulties do you encounter mainly in the food industry of Togo?

The food industry (food trades) extends to agribusiness focused on agricultural production. But the food trades are less important in the context of Togo. In Togo we still have a rural and traditional sociology. Most of them eat at home apart from expatriates or a few middle classes who occasionally enjoy themselves or officials who for reasons cannot go home at noon to eat at home. But most of the meal is consumed at home.

3- Does Togo produce enough to adequately meet the needs of its population (is national production sufficient and enough to vary the food? If so how? If not in what? Why? And what measures to short term and long term to remedy the problems?

We have deficits in agricultural production we have a problem in terms of productivity. A set of factors explain this weakness of productivity: technical and technological order (we still use very little improved seed less than 10kilo of fertilizer material per surface against a recommendation of 50kilo for Nepal ,The Asian countries are around 100 even a little more for North American countries, and more resources should be put towards these two specific points: technical means (growing techniques and modern technologies).

4- What are the main foods eaten in Togo? Local or imported? Fresh or processed? Other notable features?

Corn is the main product consumed followed by tubers produced locally.

5- What are the main means of access to food in Togo? If the means of access to food are not the same everywhere, how are they distributed across the territory and by individual profiles?

60% of the population being in rural areas are in the agricultural field. There is a big part of production that is self-consumption. That being the case, there is the regular functioning of rural markets, which means that not everyone produces what it consumes, but there are exchanges that take place in rural markets, which allow food security to be ensured at the level of the rural markets. Household. The large part of the population estimated at 40% in the urban environment where there is peri-urban agriculture. Some make small fields alongside a few concessions but most buy their foods in the markets of which the main ones are the markets of Lomé and some middle classes do in supermarkets. The different social classes supply themselves based on the means and the places they purchase food. Supermarkets mainly apply for the wealthy and upper middle class whereas open air sales have a more diversified clientele.

6- Overall, what is the situation of food production in Togo?

As said, productivity is still low in Togo but there is subsistence production as well as the influx of mainly consumed products such as cereals and tubers. This means that there is enough to meet the minimum need to satisfy his hunger.

7- What are the proportions of national food production for export and local consumption? How to justify this distribution?

Structurally, we import a lot but not only because of the demand but also there is an increase of the production which does not follow the evolution of the demand. We are importing a lot in the trends because of the evolution of the demand and also an increase of the production which does not necessarily follow...

8- Have you noticed any changes or changes in food demands in recent years? What are they and how do they affect the industry or the food outlook in Togo?

Yes. Of course, like any economy when there is evolution of demography, there is a change in demand that is accompanied by a change in class. When there is a middle class that appears there are changes in food that leads to a demand for meat products, fish, and fresh market gardening and more important fruits and vegetables compared to a traditional diet. So we are turning to imports.

9- What is the place of import in the food industry of Togo?

It is increasingly demanded; not necessarily by necessity since Togo exports a lot of cereals and tubers.

10- Does Togo import more and more food? Which ones and according to answer why?

Yes with the change in classes, new demands appear and inflates the import. Importation goes with the evolving food habits, from which the most imported products mentioned, such as meats, fish products and imported rice (10%) consumed most often in privileged environments.

- 11- In Togo, what do you think is the most important factor in the purchase of food? (Financial means, nutritional balance, state of satiety, others?)**

Depends on the class financial means - 55% live below the poverty line which is less than a dollar a day. The middle class can look in part at the nutritional side

- 12- In terms of food / food, what is the most common complaint in Togo? (Availability, cost, others?)**

Cost above all. However bargaining is also cultural.

- 13- Do you confirm that eating habits vary greatly from one region to another? If so, living in one region rather than another may be more advantageous / disadvantageous as the case may be? Please comment briefly on your answer.**

Not necessarily. Behaviors are mostly related to culture and sociology from one region to another. In regions where there is more crops to rice with oils, that is what people consume. But now eating habits also changes because habits are being standardized. Now that the culture of rice (historically considered the rich's meal) is successful, people are eating more and more of it to the point where it replaces rice. Until the 1990s it was millet and sorghum in the Savanna region. So naturally the topography and environment possibilities influences behaviors that are not decided but constructed with means around. The plateaux region (Togo's quality region) has a more interesting, gentler climate and a larger heterogeneous network than the savannah, which is severely drier. This conditions a better food availability. From the moment we do not have the same ecologies.

- 14- Are new imported foods becoming more and more essential in Togolese food culture and industry? What are the main ones and in what form?**

Imports go with the usual food classes. Urban environment and classes they have other trends.

- 15- Where are they most consumed and in which part of the country? North, center, south, city or rural?**

In rural areas people have maize, tubers, rice. Rice tends to take up more space and replaces more and more maize. Imported foods are the most consumed by middle classes that are found most often in urban areas that are found more in areas in the south of the country.

- 16- Is the sanitary status of the imported food (e.g. sensitive products such as meat and processed products such as milk, canned food, etc.) always controlled on entry into the country and monitored up to the final consumer? Thank you for commenting briefly on your answer (how, frequency,).**

We have a liberal economy like all African countries in general. The ECOWAS guarantees free circulation of people and goods of States that constitute the group. Thus as long as borders are open borders food as other goods will come in and leave from neighboring countries. Even though there are specific customs at specific geographic locations, not all border can be controlled.

4.1.1.1.1 Findings from the ministry of agriculture

The marginal manufacturing industry is partly based on share ownership amongst European companies. The rest consists of small-scale production units of juices and oils in makeshift containers. The food industry extends to agribusiness focused on agricultural production. Most people eat at home, apart from expatriates or a few in the middle classes who occasionally go to restaurants mostly targeting tourists.

The causes of productivity weakness are both technical and technological. For example, the use of improved seed is practiced in less than 10kg/area of fertilizer against a recommendation of 50kg. The recommendation is 100kg in Asia and even more in North America. Expertise and modern cultivation techniques and technologies are lacking. Despite weak productivity, subsistence production and an influx of products such as cereals and tubers meet the minimum needs.

Commodity exchanges in rural markets ensure food security. About 40% of the population is located in urban areas dominated by peri-urban agriculture.

Corn is the key staple food followed by local tubers. Imports are slowly gaining popularity amongst the working and middle class citizens.

Togo is a net importer of food because increased production does not follow the evolution of demand in line with demographic growth. The nature of imports depends on demand. In contrast to the wealthy elite and established middle classes, the working class and precariat use more canned goods than fresh or frozen meat.

Changes in demand triggered by a growing middle class has inflated imports of rice by 10% as well as meat products, fish, fruits, and new vegetables. These are not typically part of the traditional diet. Togo imports most of its food and exports some cereals and tubers.

Price is a priority. People instinctively look at price, even the rich. Some care about nutritional functions when specific health recommendations are communicated and those that are financially able can react to such advice since they can afford to shop selectively.

There are shifts in diet because habits are being standardized through travel media. Sales of rice continue to outpace traditional corn sales. Until the 1990s, millet and sorghum were still popular in the Savanna region to the north. The trend slowly shifted to corn consumption, starting in the south as Asian rice species were introduced to retail.

Historical disparities exist in terms of early/late familiarity with foreign foodstuffs and this creates topographic disparities that shape diets across the regions. The plateau region has a mild/gentler climate and a larger heterogeneous network in contrast to the poorer Savannah region which is much drier.

Togo is a liberal economy, as are most Sub-Saharan African countries. The ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) guarantees free circulation of people and goods. Even though there are specific customs at specific geographic locations, not all borders can be controlled, hence the possibility of unsafe food trafficking.

4.1.1.2 Informal private business -Ready-to-eat meal vendors

Lomé, 03.11.17, 14:47:34

- recorded interview

Questionnaire #2 – Informal business – ready to eat meals –

Age	Gender	Professional activity	Marital status	Household size	Ethnic group	Education level	Household location	Type of habitat	Work location	Social class
56	F	Street meal vendor	widow	2	South Tsévié	None	Capital city suburb (adidogomé)	rent	Road side next to home	low

- 1- What are you selling and since when? *Fried yams with pasta, boiled eggs, fried fish and soy cheese*
- 2- Why did you choose this location for your business? *Closeness to the house + roadside*
- 3- How did you become a seller of meals? *Started three years ago as there was a school nearby. Students going to school, on their break or going back home from school often buy food.*
- 4- Are you your own boss or employee? *own employer*
- 5- Is your business a declared business? *No*
- 6- Are you alone in your business? *Yes*
- 7- Did you fully fund it? *Yes*
- 8- Why did you choose to sell these products over others? *I first was a maid most part of my life and this business bring good margins so I started it and it works well*
- 9- How are business and how do you explain it? *Very well. It is convenient for workers and students.*
- 10- What days of the week and what time of the day do you sell? Why? *School days mainly. Monday through Saturday 8am -3pm and main rush hours are 9h30 on school's morning break, noon for lunch break and 3pm for afternoon break*
- 11- Do you like your job or do you do it for lack of alternatives? *Both but I really like it now*
- 12- If you do not like your job, what would you like to do as a job? Why did not you do it? ---
- 13- Do you cook dishes entirely? *Yes*
- 14- Is the job you do difficult and / or expensive to organize? *Yes it was difficult at start and did not know how it will evolve. Plus I started on a credit loan.*
- 15- Is it an advantage or a disadvantage of not having a legal framework? To choose, would you prefer to earn your living from day to day without contributions or that your profession is better framed by the law and declared but with benefits such as social protection (health + retirement) or access to subsidies?
For this type of business it is better not being declared. There is a margin but not enough to pay taxes
- 16- What would you like to change in your job? *Nothing*

- 17- How do you source raw materials? *Market of the district*
- 18- Where do you cook? *Some things are cooked at home but other are cooked on roadside to ensure food is warm for customers.*
- 19- Provided the prices of food in Togo, with the purchase of ingredients and means of cooking, by what means do you manage to make a suitable margin with the profile of your customers? *I go to the markets and fetch goods for less price. Products that are a bit old, too ripe, etc.*
- 20- What are the profiles of your customers? Sex, age, with / without occupation, marital / family status? *Mostly the youth as it is not purely traditional local food.*
- 21- Do customers ask you questions about the origin of your products, hygiene before, during and after cooking? *No. We have a control once a year from health services. They have asked me to take blood tests. They were supposed to come back a while ago but have not yet returned*
- 22- Could you say why we go to you rather than cooking at home? *Immediate need and costly to go back home and come back for afternoon work*
- 23- Have you ever encountered problems with customers, authorities, others? If yes, why? *No*
- 24- What prices do you practice on your products? *Not expensive for the average citizen*
- 25- Do you ever have unsold stock? What do you do? *No. I cook as the demand comes. People like warm food*
- 26- What means of preservation do you have? *I do not stock. I have no modern means of food preservation*
- 27- What type of packaging do you use? Are they easy to access? *Plastic bags or paper (recycled journals for example) to wrap food*
- 28- Are you regularly checked by an organization? If yes which? *Yes, the health ministry's hygiene service once a year*
- 29- In which part of the country do we consume more ready-to-eat foods? North, center, south? Town or rural area? *I cannot tell precisely but given the high imports contents, I would say mostly in the south and urban areas*

Questionnaire # 2– Informal business – ready-to-eat meal –fried doughnut seller

Age	Gender	Professional activity	Marital status	Household size	Ethnic group	Education level	Household location	Type of habitat	Work location	Social class
40-45	F	Meal vendor	Married	4	Losso North	None	Capital city suburb	Rent in a shared complex	Road side	low

- 1- What are you selling and since when? *Fried dough nuts since January 2017*
- 2- Why did you choose this location for your business? *Roadside + visibility for passers-by*
- 3- How did you become a seller of fried dough nuts? *My husband was the only one to provide the house and his frustration as to my only doing house chores made me seek a solution.*
- 4- Are you the business owner or an employee? *Own employer*
- 5- Is your business a registered formally? *No*
- 6- Are you alone in your business? *Yes*
- 7- Did you fully fund it? *No, with the help of my husband who gave consent*
- 8- Why did you choose to sell these products specifically? *My husband's mother taught me how the recipe and I practiced with his mother. I have the duty to earn my status of good wife by providing, taking care of house, children, etc.*
- 9- How well is business going and how do you explain it? *Difficult but it is better to work for 500 XOF/day (less than \$1) than be paid the same price and be exploited, insulted or prostitution*
- 10-What days of the week and what time of the day do you sell? *Why? 4h-11h Monday thru Friday. On big open air market days (weekends) until mid-afternoon.*
- 11-Do you like your job or do you love it for lack of alternatives? *Yes, I think I love it because it grants me some respect from my husband, his family and the society.*
- 12-If you do not like your job, what would you like to do as a job? Why did not you do it? *I was a charcoal dealer and went bankrupt. I like doing business*
- 13-Do you cook the dishes yourself? *Yes*
- 14- Is the job you do difficult and / or expensive to organize? *At first but it get better with habits - Sort the beans, remove the pebbles before going to the mill*
- 15- Is it an advantage or a disadvantage to not have a legal framework? To choose, would you prefer to earn your living from day to day without contributions or that your job is better framed by the law and declared but with benefits such as social protection (health + retirement) or access to subsidies? *With what you earn it is better not to have a frame because it would be additional costs that will take away the small profits that serve the daily needs of the family.*
- 16- What would you like to change in your job? *If I make a profit, I'll open a bar and sell diverse local dishes richer in contents (tuber or corn tick porridge with local vegetable sauces and meats, etc.)*

- 17- How do you source raw materials? Wholesalers on the market
- 18- Where do you cook? On the roadside
- 19- Given food prices in Togo, with the purchase of ingredients and ways of cooking, by what means do you manage to make a suitable margin with the profile of your customers? We buy low quality goods that requires lot of sorting. The cleanest are at 2000 XOF/ bowl and the least good are at 1300-1500 XOF / bowl
- 20- What are the profiles of your customers? Sex, age, with / without occupation, marital / family status? It used to be mainly those from the north as I am from the north and sell northern dishes mainly. But now all types of people buy because convenient and cheap. Today people appreciate these bean donuts in the south as in the north. It's a question of individual appreciation and convenience
- 21- Do customers ask you questions about the origin of your products, hygiene before, during and after cooking? Never
- 22- Could you say why people buy from you rather than cook at home? Most purchases are spontaneous not expected, nor planned.
- 23- Have you ever had problems with customers, authorities, others? If yes, why? Never
- 24- What prices do you practice on your products? 25 XOF/ Doughnut, 100 XOF/cakes
- 25- Do you ever have unsold stock? What do you do? No preparation in advance. All done on spot on the roadside.
- 26- What are the means of preservation you have? No need as beans are dried & used/ not stocked
- 27- What type of packaging do you use? Are they easy to access? Papers/ used newspapers
- 28- Are you regularly checked by an organization? If yes which? No
- 29- In which part of the country do we consume more ready-to-eat foods? North, center, south? City or rural area? I guess everywhere nowadays. The food I sell is mostly consumed in the north but today there is less food choices based on ethnicity than before.

4.1.1.2.1 Findings from outdoor ready-to-eat meals vendors

Vendors sell mixed imported and local products such as fried yams or soy cheese. They also sell imported pasta, fried fish, meat and canned goods such as sardines and these are also imported. Roadside vendors offer convenience since they are a part of neighborhoods and so access to various passing customers is guaranteed. Two standards of indoor food places exist: those for rich tourists shopping from covered stands and those for low-mild social classes such as roadside traders which are convenient, quick and affordable. Street food commerce survives on convenience and compulsive purchases as well as repeat clientele. Business peaks during mornings before school, at noon and in the afternoon

following school and working hours. During the weekend, clients who live at home alone shop from itinerant commodity vendors. Street food businesses mostly comprise of unemployed women, housewives or part-time female workers seeking to contribute to household expenses. The seller's argument is that it is better to work for 500 XOF/ day than to be paid the same as a maid or to become a prostitute. Business is financially challenging at the outset with credit loans required from husbands, relatives or acquaintances. Some are quickly foreclosed as the returns are not sufficient. One participant said: "As wife and mother, I am entitled to house chores, but financial participation is how a wife and mother get any respect. As wife and mother I must provide and be there for my family by raising my kids well and being a good wife, respectful and supportive in every domain to safeguard my place. A rejected wife is a burdening shame for her parents who would never want her back. I belong to my husband and must ensure his happiness for my own good." This applies to women with children who are often coerced by their husbands. As she cannot return to her household she has "dishonored" the family and must manage to make a living for her children.

The quality of food is never questioned as this would be seen as ill-mannered. There may be inspections once a year from health and safety inspectors. For hygienic purposes, these authorities may ask vendors to undertake blood and stool tests to evaluate risks of contaminations. A suspension of business can be demanded when tests are positive. However, one participant noted that health agents hardly return to ask for the test results. Food commerce, according to participants never encounters the kinds of problems related to the quality of the food sold. There are no regular checkups. Another participant said that she had never been inspected. Street sales are informal and mainly concern women who are the most financially vulnerable. As a consequence of limited funds, ingredients are bought daily/weekly upon need. Hence, very little surplus food is reheated the next day or 'refreshed' with additional products. When possible, dishes are cooked on the road

side. Some eat on the spot and others take food away. The food is wrapped in plastic bags/ recycled papers or consumed on spot at the roadside. The earnings from food commerce are allocated quickly towards fulfilling essential daily needs. Vendors prefer not to observe legal frameworks that involve both social protection and taxes. Nevertheless, some town agents continue to agitate for financial contributions. Proximity to the workplace/school is also a motive for buying street food. Proximity is less of an issue in northern rural regions as towns and villages are small and surrounded by agricultural life. People cook at home instead of 'wasting' money on dining out. For street food to be affordable quality must not be a criterion. Ingredients are increasingly expensive, even spoiled ingredients that are overripe or rotting. When the long-term goal is to stop renting and own a house, one can realistically only expect to survive given the current conditions. In most southern regions, including the capital city, there are diverse ethnic street foods because of movements of populations towards the capital city. Food is mostly local in the north as imports are more expensive due to the transport costs associated with imported products from the south. Many imported foods are standardized amongst rich southerners/northerners and youth. Elders prefer local home-cooked local such as corn/roots, crops which are grilled, boiled and pounded and served with vegetables. They also prefer fish/fresh poultry and sauces. Young people prefer fried roots as potato/yam fries.

4.1.1.3 *Informal private business – Outdoor market produce vendor*

né, 25.10.17, 12:52:18

- recorded interview

Questionnaire #2 – Informal business – fresh food vendor- open air market vegetables seller

Professional activity	Marital status	Household size	Ethnic group	Academic education	Household location	Type of habitat	Work zone	Social class
Vegetable vendor	marié	3	sud	Elementary school	Agoo – South	Rented apartment	Agoo - South	low

1. What are you selling and since when? *Vegetables since 2013*
2. Why did you choose this location for your business? *It is close to home*
3. How did you become a seller of ...? *Due to lack of clientele for haute couture seamstresses*
4. Are you your own boss or employee? *Own boss. I have no employee, so I do everything by myself.*
5. Is your business registered? *No – lease of space bought at 10.000 XOF + construction roof then wooden pedestals (10.000XOF)*
6. Are you the only member of your business? *Yes*
7. Did you fully fund it? *Conjointly with husband*
8. Why did you choose to sell these products over others? *I get to have household consumables at retailer's price and I had to have an activity.*
9. How are business doing and how do you explain it? *Not very well - people complain about not having enough money and continuous price increases*
10. What days of the week and what times of the day do you sell? *From 5h to 19h Monday to Sunday (After the 8h Sunday Mass)*
11. Do you like your job or do you do it for lack of alternatives? *I do it by lack of alternatives because my personal passion was haute couture. There are too many people doing it and finding a place is hard. You need to have a good network.*
12. If you do not like your job, what would you like to do as a job? Why did not you do it? *Sewing*
13. Is it difficult and / or expensive to organize? *Yes night ventures to get supplies on the big markets (no idea of the origin of the products)*
14. Is it an advantage or a disadvantage to not have a legal framework? To choose, would you prefer to earn your living from day to day without contributions or that your job is better regulated by law and declared but with benefits such as social protection (health + retirement) or access to subsidies? *In view of the income, I prefer to not have the state intervene in my business. The cost would be more than 300 XOF claimed by the district every day*
15. What would you like to change in your job? ---
16. How do you source raw materials? *Retailers*
17. Where do you sell your products? *On the district's open air market*

18. Given the prices of food in Togo and the high precariousness, by what means do you manage to make a suitable margin with the profile of your customers? Wholesalers' prices are a little more interesting. I do not make big profits. Only what is needed for daily needs.
19. What are the profiles of your customers? Sex, age, with / without occupation, marital / family status? All types but mainly women purchase ingredients for cooking. Men clientele is mainly young singles
20. Do Customers ask you questions about where your products come from? Sometimes only out of curiosity when it is not the season only or to justify the price level
21. Have you ever had problems with customers, authorities, others? No
22. What prices do you practice on your products? Affordable globally I would say but clientele are mostly middle class than from very low social class -----
23. What type of packaging do you use? Are they easy to access? Transparent plastic bags - bought on the markets
24. Do you ever have unsold stock? What do you do? No. Products that turn bad are sorted out and sold cheap to ready-to-eat meal vendors or the very poor
25. What are the means of preservation you have? None. I cannot afford a fridge. I manage to sell all the products even the ones turning bad. Additionally I do not have the means to buy a lot of stock.
26. Are you regularly checked by an organization? If yes which? No. Just daily occupation taxes is paid to the town hall agents.

4.1.1.3.1 Findings from outdoor market fresh food vendors

Vendors, mostly women provide access to more diversified customer profiles and this helps them to acquire and consume food at cost price. Open air markets offer fruits, vegetables, legumes, tubers, meats and fish as well as spices, soft drinks and cooked meals. Customers are mostly women, maids or children. Open-air markets host many bricks and mortar, semi-formal businesses. Many sellers rent the uncovered areas they occupy. Late sudden climatic shocks have affected productivity and caused produce price increases. This motivates customers to search for alternatives such as poorer quality products like rotting vegetables or expired and counterfeit canned products and flavor enhancers. The cost of electricity and fridges makes it impossible for everyone to afford fresh food storage. Vegetables and fruits are temperature-sensitive and their price significantly diminishes to ensure products do not go to waste.

Depending on the type of vegetable, they are sold-off or dried. Some clients, many street meal vendors can only afford rotting products. Rotten tomatoes are grounded to make tomato sauces. Retailers obtain supplies from wholesalers who sell aggregated goods from farmers. Most would rather not abide by a legal framework and manage their protection personally. This is typically because, after taxes, they would have little left in terms of profit. A participation fee is paid to the town hall for market space. Customers may ask about the origin of fresh products. Vegetables and fruits are presented openly in stacks. Products are packed in plastics bags for ease of access, yet this is legally forbidden. According to participants, there are no state controls over fresh fruits and vegetables.

4.1.1.4 Informal private business- Consumer goods and grocery roadside vendor

Lomé, 03.11.17, 14:13:26

recorded interview

Questionnaire #4 – Informal business- Small open air convenience shop

Age	Gender	Professional activity	Family status	Household size	Ethnic group	Academic education	Habitat location	Type of housing	Work location	Social Class
29	F	retailer	Married	6	South (Tsévié)	Junior high	Lomé (city)	Rent	city	Low

1- Are you your own boss (decision-maker) or Employee?

Owner

2- Are you the only member of your trade?

Husband or another family member helps sometimes

3- Have you fully funded the business yourself?

Started business with husband's approval and financial participation. Other start on a small credit from someone known. Products are acquired and when sold, the credit is reimbursed with a little interest and the rest of the benefit serve for the next merchandise to be purchased. The first loan or contribution by a family member is mainly to introduce the business to clients until they become regular customers.

4- Since when did you start? Do you have other points of sale on the territory?

Since 2012. No subsidiaries. Usually convenience stores are individual businesses with no subsidiaries. They are entrepreneurship that serve to fund the daily needs.

5- Why have you chosen this location for your trade?

The proximity to home. So no transport costs, merchandise can be quickly packed and disposed in the same location with no transports cost for merchandise or seller.

6- What types of products do sell- ?

Cookies + candies + chewing gums, canned goods (milk and chocolate powder, sardines, tomatoes, soaps for the body and dishes, etc.) some sell but in smaller quantities Cookies, candies, chewing gum, pasta, canned dishes, eggs, fresh vegetables like tomatoes, peppers, garlic, onions and dried fish, cubic broth or other flavor enhancers + spices + salt, etc. Many products originate from Ghana, Nigeria.

7- Why have you chosen to sell these products rather than other?

It was convenient, simple and cheaper to start with for immediate benefit. We get merchandise from bigger retailers that import.

8- How do you become a seller of these types of goods?

I needed to have an additional income for the home. Provide for the family and in Togo not only do we count own kids but we also look after the kids of relatives that are deceased or not in capacity to provide for their children financially. When we do not have our own house, and rent, it is difficult not to seize the opportunity of approaching retailers when possible.

9- As a private business, with what body of State are you registered?

I am not registered anywhere because I do not exist formally. Some are registered when they are renting a room of a cement building. However itinerant sellers or those that only settle to a place in open market, pay a rent from the place to the land owner and pay a ticket to the city controller to prove they have paid a participation. Those on the borders of street do not really pay anything because those are not official places to sell. However from time to time they are asked by certain people to pay a "little something" to participate in social life but those people are not clearly identified as state agent and do not provide ticket as a proof of any participation.

10- Are you regularly controlled by an institution? If yes, which, at what frequency and on what?

The ones in a building pay taxes and those informal in markets pay a participation with a ticket for proof. Those in the streets barely pay anything. To have peace sometimes they give some money to state employee that questions their rights to settle where they are.

11- How well is this business going and how do you explain it?

It's okay. We do not complain even if the affluence is missing sometimes. We have had a small clientele over the years that repeatedly comes. People of a modest living standards. Of course we always seek to sell more. More and more people are buying but we have more and more competition too because it is a business that is simple and works. However people do not necessarily think of small seller when there is a place that had a greater visibility due to that fact that it is settle in a building which has a more impact in terms of visibility.

12- What days of the week and at what times of the day sell- you the most? ----

Those in building have controlled opening hours as they are declared. The other informal businesses can sell anytime of the day but have clientele during the day besides clients that are closed by the settlement. Night time is the best time for informal seller because stores are closed at night and when people need something at time. They are the main recourse. So street sellers work all day but more during the night because when the official shops are closed, people turn to street vendors and markets are not very safe to visit at night. Many building in markets are closed and when it gets dark open air market seller do not have electric lights and use traditional lamps which are not very effective and do not show well products sold. Those that remain are those near the street who can benefit from street lights.

13- Do you like your profession or do you do it by lack of alternatives?

Those are not the types of question we wonder about as long as it allows family to live. The most important thing is not the type of job but a job that allow women to take care of the house, the children, and have a side revenue for the household. A woman could go and work somewhere else but the schedule must also allow her to ensure food is the table at noon and at night for her family along with her own household shores done.

14- If you do not like your business, what would you have liked as a profession? Why not having done it?

People appreciate or unconsciously forced into accepting their conditions and hoping that the future may be holding something better for them even financially speaking. Of course they would have wanted more. They would have liked a job that classify them among the upper class but do not think of what exactly it could be. Some may have thought when they were younger of becoming medical doctors, nurses, journalists, lawyer and so on, but life circumstances (death of parents, or limited funds to keep up with children's schooling) have created conditions that did not allow such so people just accept it as destiny and just fight to live another day by sometimes saving money to build their own house and stop with renting. In fact school was not compulsory up to 15 years in Togo since 1996 and free only since 2004 and boys were privileged in families when there was a little fund that could be allocated to school.

15- Is it difficult and/or expensive to organize?

Yes at first, but when you manage your first credit well, you get the first benefits and when your services match the customer's need and things are going well, you have a recurring clientele.

16- What are the advantages and disadvantages for your company in the legal, socio-economic setting of Togo?

As an informal entrepreneurs I am rather pleased to be able to manage my business freely.

17- How do you get supply?

From wholesalers

18- What are the profiles of your customers? Sex, Age, with/without profession, marital status Family/?

The formal businesses are rather mostly wholesalers (even though it may happen that they also offer products final customers can directly buy) and the informal businesses are mostly retailers. So in the case of informal businesses, there are all types of profile, children come for sweets and cookies, adults and old people for vegetables, canned food, pasta, rice, dried beans and black eyes peas, etc. .

19- Do customers ask you questions on the origin of your products, hygiene

No the expiry date is not questioned and those problems occurs most of the time at the wholesalers' stage as they have lager amount of stocks. Back in time when elders could not read they never questioned the wholesalers' good but today young women have some reading basics and can check dates on the

packaging. But people being so used to not pay attention rarely look at details. Moreover, at the retailers' stage consumables are bought per unit and the best before date rarely appear on single units.

20- Have you already had problems with the clients, the authorities, other?

No

21- What price do you practice on a few examples of products?

Chewing gums and candies are sold per unit by the retailers and accessible to children.

22- Do you happen to have unsold goods? What do you do of outdated products?

Not at the retailers' level because we only get about one or two weeks at the most, not because we are not sure merchandise would be sold but because we do not have the means to send too much at once for merchandise.

23- What are the means of conservation of the products?

There are no special means of conservation. Products sold are not fresh goods and we only get small stock that are immediately sold within ten to fifteen days after purchase

24- In what part of the country the products that you sell are the most consumed? North, Center, South? City?

Village

This business are more fluent in poor areas of the south because rich cities have many shops and importers that do direct sales. We bring the goods to those in remote areas of the city center or passing individuals on their way, to school, work, etc.

4.1.1.4.1 Findings from consumer good and grocery roadside vendor

Informal/semi-informal businesses that are mostly owned by women confer a respectful social status on women and reinforce their place in the marriage. Such businesses are primarily to make a living and products' quality check is neither a concern for vendors nor for buyers. Furthermore the lack of knowledge about quality issues and their impacts is popular. In poor households, academic education is primarily something that boys receive, and many women are illiterate. Some are hairdressers, tailors or housemaids. However, these markets are saturated in Togo, and many seek a lucrative alternative in order to support the household. They are often subject to the threat of being expelled or treated in degrading manners by men and through laws. Informal businesses have a legitimate legal status in Togo. Unless the products are illicit. Most informal businesses are incepted since there are no jobs to apply for as an alternative. Their disorganized, unstructured and

unmonitored nature is harmful in the long term with regard to food and health. They identify a lack of subsidies in individual ventures as one of the reasons for such a pattern. Informal, open air business and semi-informal businesses with roofs and concrete walls are both common. Some are registered at the town hall.

Itinerant sellers, or those seeking only to trade to pay landowners tend to trade in such circumstances. Roadside businesses are sometimes asked by policemen/soldiers to pay a “little something” (a bribe) to avoid trouble or to ignore illicit acts. In short, bricks and mortar businesses pay taxes and informal market traders pay formal and informal ‘contribution’ as a bargained tax that in fact rarely reach the town hall. With or without academic education, many are raised to appreciate their conditions while hoping that the future holds something better. Complaints are rare as illiteracy, ignorance of civil rights as per the modern law and fear of a complaint backfiring prevail. Some have dreamt of becoming doctors, nurses, journalists and lawyers, but life circumstances have meant that children have had to abandon school and start working to help with expenses. The popular end goal is to save money, buy a house and stop renting. School has been compulsory only since 1995, and it has been free to attend only since 2004. Boys have traditionally been privileged in receiving school education.

Those working in the semi- formal sector would like to receive financial subsidies and to exert more control over informal vendors. The latter cohort meanwhile can enjoy freedom to trade without being accountable to anyone. Some fear their incapacity to understand the legal language which means they lose control over their earnings, which are usually spent quickly on household needs. Saving has therefore become a luxury.

4.1.1.5 Semi-formal private business–Convenience goods/grocery shop

Lomé 25.10.17 , 13:05:54

recorded interview

Questionnaire #4 – Semi Informal business – convenience goods shop

Age	Gender	Professional activity	Family status	Household size	Ethnic	Academic education	Household location	Housing	Work location	Social class
15	F	Shop employee	Single	16	Kotokoli (North)	6th grade	South-Lomé	Lives in relatives' rented house	Next to the house -South	Low

- 1- Are you your own boss (decision-maker) or Employee? *Employee*
- 2- Who are the other members of your business? *My aunt that I live with owns the business. Not sure and I can tell who else works here. My cousins also help*
- 3- Have you fully funded the business yourself? *I do not how it started*
- 4- Since when exist you? Do you have other points of sale on the territory? *Since 2014. No subsidiaries.*
- 5- Why have you chosen this location for your trade? *Probably because it is next to home and close to the district open air market. .*
- 6- What types of products do you sell and since when? *Consumables, Sweets as cookies + candies + chewing gums*
- 7- Why have you chosen to sell these products rather than other? *Cannot answer for owner*
- 8- How do you become a seller of these types of goods? *---*
- 9- As a private business, with what body of State are you registered? *Taxes are paid to the town hall between we sell in a concrete built indoor shop.*
- 10- Are-you regularly controlled by an institution? If yes, which, at what frequency and on what? *No*
- 11- How well is this business going and how do you explain it? *Business is ok I guess. Some days are busier than other. We do not sell products per unit so retailers come off and on.*
- 12- What days of the week and at what times of the day sell- you the most? *We sell most on working days and on week end we go and get supplies.*
- 13- Do you like your profession or do you do it by lack of alternatives? *I am happy to help my aunt with her business.*
- 14- If you do not like your business, what would you have liked as a profession? Why not having done it? *I am no longer in school but I hope to have my own business someday too if my future marriage allows it.*
- 16- What are the advantages and disadvantages for your company in the Decor legal, socio-economic and Togo? *My aunt is happy with what she has. She only pay some taxes to the city hall agent that stop by sometimes.*
- 17- How do you get supply? *From wholesalers*
- 18- What are the profiles of your customers? Sex, Age, with/without profession, marital status Family/? *Mainly retailers and small itinerant vendors in markets. These are principally women.*
- 19- Do customers ask questions on the origin of your products, hygiene or the best before date? *Never. No one really read what is on the packaging*
- 20- Have you already had with problems with the clients, the authorities, other? *No*
- 21- What price do you practice on a few examples of products? *We only discuss price with known retailers.*
- 22- Do you happen to have unsold goods? What do you do of outdated products? *There are no outdated products as these are manufactured and supposed to last long.*
- 23- What are the means of conservation? *We do not need a specific mode of conservation for these products.*
- 24- In what part of the country consumes-t-on most of the products that you sell? North, Center, South? City? Village
Our business type more fluent in the south and cities than the north and rural areas even though number in also increasing where they were traditionally low. Out of cities it is not concrete built shops but mainly small shelters.

4.1.1.5.1 Findings from convenience goods and grocery shop vendors

As well as open air markets, small convenience shops are popular. They principally sell manufactured imported foodstuffs as sweets, canned food and flavor enhancers. Some also offer medicines. Convenience for the seller and the client plays a role in their popularity. The clientele are diverse and include children shopping for sweets, adults shopping for cigarettes, vegetables, canned foods, pasta, rice, dried beans and black eyed peas amongst others. Ingredients of varying types offer quick solutions to spice up otherwise bland food. Imports 'treats' are considered to be of a superior quality and these include canned liquids or powdered milk since milk is rare in markets. They also include canned sardines, canned tomatoes and tomato purees. They are mostly supplied by wholesalers buying from importers. Proximity to home remains a determinant since there are no transport costs. Merchandise can therefore be quickly packed and dispatched in the same location with no transport costs for merchandise or seller. Imported products are generally good for business and is one of the most popular ideas for a quick lucrative project. Competition becomes fiercer as formal and semi-formal businesses have more impact in terms of their visibility. However, these businesses are subject to closely monitored working hours and, when closed at night, street vendors take over. When stores located on markets close at night, open air market sellers without electric power use traditional lamps to show their products and this attracts clients. 'Best before' dates are not questioned as authorities are more interested in suppliers with larger stocks. Today, young women with basic reading skills can check dates on packaging. However, consumables are bought by the unit and the BBD does not show on single units. Newspaper scandals often reveal fraudulent activities amongst importers who change the BBD before supplying retailers. These shops sell the same products as large formal stores selling at higher prices for clients like tourists and foreigners who can afford it. Imported goods vendors are more common in the south than the north where imported goods are more expensive due to additional transport costs.

4.1.1.6 Formal private - Frozen fish and poultry shops

Lomé, 27.10.17, 12:17

recorded interview

Questionnaire #3 – Formal business- Frozen animal products store

Age	Gender	Professional activity	Marital status	Household size	Ethnic group	Academic education	Household location	Type de logement	Work location	Social class
40-45	M	vendor	-	-	South	High school	Lomé	-	Lomé	-

- 1- Are you your own boss (decision-maker) or Employee? Both
- 2- Are you the only member of your trade? Yes
- 3- Have you fully funded the business yourself? Yes
- 4- Since when did you start? Do you have other points of sale on the territory? Since 2011. I have no other stores.
- 5- Why have you chosen this location for your trade? Open air market are mostly interesting financially + business visibility
- 6- What types of products do sell- ? Fish and poultry because frozen cattle is forbidden
- 7- Why have you chosen to sell these products rather than other? Need to make a living somehow. It just happened.
- 8- How do you become a seller of these types of goods? I was employed in a frozen food company before setting my own.
- 9- As a private business, with what body of State are you registered? The ministry of agriculture.
- 10- Are you regularly controlled by an institution? If yes, which, at what frequency and on what? (No answer)
- 11- How well is this business going and how do you explain it? Business is calm and is often jagged.
- 12- What days of the week and at what times of the day sell- you the most? On working days I supply ready meal vendors mostly. On weekend it is both meal vendors and individuals for home-cooking
- 13- Do you like your profession or do you do it by lack of alternatives? I stay in the business despite difficulties because that's what I've been doing for years.
- 14- If you do not like your business, what would you have liked as a profession? Why not having done it? (No answer).
- 15- Is it difficult and/or expensive to organize? (no answer)
- 16- What are the advantages and disadvantages for your company in the legal, socio-economic setting of Togo? Subsidies are lacking in the agro-food sector and even being declared, the companies are not really benefiting from being formalized.
- 17- How do you get supply? From wholesalers, importers, some local suppliers
- 18- What are the profiles of your customers? Sex, Age, with/without profession, marital status Family/? Mostly street food vendors and middle class households.
- 19- Do customers ask you questions on the origin of your products, hygiene (DLC, DDM) No.
- 20- Have you already had problems with the clients, the authorities, other? No. Never. Why such question?
- 21- What price do you practice on a few examples of products? It depends on the products (evasive answer).
- 22- Do you happen to have unsold goods? What do you do of outdated products? We never have outdated products. Business continue because people continue to buy. There never was any problem and customers appreciate what they buy.
- 23- What are the means of conservation of the products? One cold room.
- 24- In what part of the country the products that you sell are the most consumed? North, Center, South? City? Village
Most likely the south and cities but cannot ascertain that.

4.1.1.6.1 Findings from frozen fish and poultry vendor

Legal details are unknown by employees, and owners did not wish to be formally ‘recognized’ or to declare the specific details of their supplies or cold chain management protocols. During interviews, it became clear that ready-to eat vendors return frozen products for exchange without proper cold carriage. Returns were re-stored in cold rooms. Officially, only frozen fish and poultry can be sold but not meat such as beef or pork. Yet often clients came to buy frozen sausage. Connections, secrecy, trust and reliability are the key to success. When questioned about produce, no specific data were disclosed. Based on observation, stores depend on secrecy regarding breaks in the cold chain and the poor hygienic handling of produce. Ostensibly, there are no problems/complaints with authority or clients, and no issues with unsold goods, yet products sold in plastic bags are not labelled with expiry dates.

These stores are mainly concentrated in Lomé, the capital. They are often located next to open air markets and are a well-established cultural feature of Togo. Such facilities are semi-formal or formal, therefore they pay taxes. The cost of electric power makes frozen products expensive and only affordable to middle to wealthy class individuals/households. Ready-to-eat-food vendors also trade in this way. Based on data provided by a small scale entrepreneur formerly employed by a European importer, businesses are registered and monitored by agents of the Department of the Ministry of Agriculture one or twice a year. Supply is supposedly assured by import wholesalers and some locals. Agents check storage procedures and produce. However, during interviews, people returned packages for an exchange. Returned packages were not carried in a cold box, but in plastic wraps. The defrosted goods then were simply stored back in the cold room.

4.1.2 Health sector

4.1.2.1 State - The Ministry of health representative

Lomé, 26.10.17, 08:08:24

—recorded interview

Questionnaire #1 - PUBLIC SECTOR – Ministry of health representative.

1- From a nutritional and quantitative point of view, how would you describe, in a few words, the food habits in Togo of the child, the adult and the elderly? (frequency of consumption, dietary intakes, over-salty foods, too much fat, too much sugar, purchase of ready-to-eat food or home cooking, alcoholic beverages, others?)

The eating behaviors are first of a cultural nature. The less fortunate watch out above all to the quantitative rather than qualitative satiety. Those more fortunate consider satiety first but seek varying to other eating pleasures that are not necessarily healthy habits meaning toward over- nutrition. Foods are stuffed with starch is very heavy, too salty, greasy and sweet. Fruits are eaten occasionally. Vegetables are consumed a lot with cereals but are cooked and some vitamins are photosensitive, thermo-sensitive. They are eaten a lot when it is the season and not eaten when the season is over. There are those who works and put all their gains in buying food to live and fortunate one who earn a lot of money but have very bad eating habits.

2- In Togo, what do you think, in order, the most important factor in the act of buying food? (Financial means, nutritional balance, state of satiety, others?)

First, satiety, then financial means, and nutritional intake is not considered at all

3- Have you noticed any changes in the mode and behavior of food consumption (or other substances, alcohol, cigarettes included) in recent years? If yes since when? What are they and how do they affect the field of health since?

Alcohol is current first do to traditional beer but new behaviors are appearing with the new rising class.

Cigarettes are smoked but are not a major issue compared to food and alcohol

4- Complex diseases referring to the links between a genetic profile and a specific environment, do you confirm that eating habits vary greatly from one region to another in Togo? If not, comment on why. If so, can living in one region rather than another be a real advantage / disadvantage? Please comment briefly on your answer.

In the north there is more poverty and people eat local food but as there are many uneducated people hygiene is a problem. There are only two seasons in the north: the dry season and the rainy season. So during the rainy season it rains a lot and defecations with the rain as well as mosquitos fond of wet seasons bring a lot of health problems. Even when people are eating food they grow themselves without fertilizers, they still can have infected vegetables which are always cooked and which loose most of their vitamins in the cooking process and fruits are consumed non-cooked with no further hygiene. It is usually eaten with corn meal which is mainly cereal. During the dry season, people have no fruits, it is so hot and they cannot cook all the time, many during traditional beer all day and cook and eat at night when it is cooler. Whereas in the south there

are four seasons that alternate every three months giving room and time for people to recover from a dryer season to a fresher season. Then they have more fruits and as populations are more instructed, hygiene is more considered in the cooking of meals.

5- Would you say that new imported foods are more and more essential in the Togolese culture and food industry? What are the main ones and in what form? (Frozen foods, meat, canned goods, drinks, other?)

New healthy people are consuming more and more of imported goods. Rice is imported and cooked a lot because it is easier but also because for a long time in Togo people used to cook rice on special days (it was considered as the meal of the rich or for great occasion). Today the price being more accessible, rice is becoming more and more consumed especially through imports. Imported frozen food is eaten a lot in the south more than in the north due to the fact that people have more means in the south

6- From a health and nutritional point of view, what is your opinion on the main local and imported food products consumed?

We have a control department that controls water and food but there is a lot of things going on that escape the law. Food produced in Togo is enough but the cooking process kill a lot of nutrient. The imported goods can be good when entering the country but their stocking process may be a problem. Some meats are imported but not all food entering the country can be controlled. There are parallel routes bringing food in the country. So expired food cannot be thrown. Throwing food away is not conceivable in the common thinking.

7- Where are they themost consumed? North, center, south, city or rural?

More the south and in cities because of affordability

8- By category (fruits, vegetables, meat, fish, cereals, dairy products, etc.) what are the most consumed foods on the one hand in the south and on the other hand in the north?

Less fruits in the extreme north due to proximity with the Sahel. More meat and cow milk in the north (hunting and shepherd in the north) and more fish in the south. Vegetables are eaten everywhere with cultural specific cooking techniques.

9- Food behavior in Togo is linked to: a- the socio-economic conditions of individuals and families, b- the lack of knowledge of the impact of food on health, c- familiarity / non-familiarity with certain foods, d- to a national / regional food deficit ?, e- others?

All the reasons are valid except for food deficit. There is no food deficit in Togo. People often talk of hunger but it is not hunger in the sense that there is no absolute access to food. Most expect to work in government agencies. There is no entrepreneurial spirit of going and getting this done. When lacks they might not be able to acquire all the food they need but they would not engage themselves into something that carries risks and would count on family to survive while complaining of not finding a job in the administration. In the south people are more engaged in entrepreneurship learning how to saw, do hair. But as Togo have more of those

now people have a hard time thinking outside the box. Either work in public admin or do one of the more spread jobs known. At the ansat (agency for food security in Togo) which stocks food for harder periods, food is accessible and cheap for everyone.

10- In recent years, WHO has been sounding the alarm on NCDs (chronic cardiovascular / respiratory diseases, diabetes mellitus, cancers, kidney failure, etc.)? What is the status of Togo in that matter?

There are programs, the NCDS department and associations. Doctors also advise but it is always a question of means.

11- In your opinion, what is the share of consumption habits in these health problems if, according to the disease, certain nutritional behaviors / foods can become toxic for the body?

The poor suffers malnutrition (diseases due to infections, malarias, parasites) and the wealthy suffers from NCDs r transitional illness related to and economic transition in his life.

12- What are the means of access to care related to these illnesses? (diagnosis, treatment, prescriptions, follow-up, ...) Are they supervised and easy to access to the patient? For this purpose, what difficulties on the ground?

The care depends on the means and the environment – beliefs are primordial and means also are. There are controls but again medicine sellers still sell even though many have had their merchandise destroyed.

13- What is the frequency of food consumption (breakfast, morning snack, lunch, afternoon snack, appetizer, dinner, starters, desserts, homemade meals or purchased?)

2-3 times

14- Are there research or research centers on the issue and / or the impact and the actual nutritional intake of food consumed (traditional, postcolonial, post-globalization)?

No. Nutritional intake unknown. However there are proxy measures with studies that shows when children are too skinny, short or underweight for their age.

15- Apart from the dietary indications of the medical profession to the patient, are there any awareness programs for a sufficient, healthy and balanced diet? (Frequency, nutrition, etc.)

Not really but when means are not there is not much to do about nutritional information. In addition people who have the means and know about counterparts of certain food habits still eat as they please and seek to catch up on things they did not have before. On the Maslow pyramid, self-esteem is not considered but satiety and abundance is the top where ease of accessibility gives way to all derives food wise as well as for other material goods.

16- How is Togo doing with respect to malnutrition and undernutrition? Is the curve in these cases ascending or decadent? Since when and what is it?

Over nutrition as malnutrition is growing fast since about 10 years as a new class is evolving and. The poor's nutrition is rather constant but when unsafe food is dumped on markets for a reason or the other when affordable the poor also acquires it.

17- The age that can be indicative of the family and professional status, for each age group what is the most recurrent illness that can be linked to individual eating behaviors?

People in middle working class in their 30-50 have increasingly been exposed to high risks of ndcs because of their as their purchasing power rises

18- Are tobacco and alcoholic beverages highly consumed in Togo? In what proportions? How often and most often by what profiles of individuals?

More alcoholic beverages – most often people seem to want to show off or to catch up on times they were not able to afford them

19- Do they represent a public health problem in Togo today?

Alcohol may participate for than smoking but an empiric conclusion cannot be drawn from it. The apparent behaviors may lead to such a conclusion though.

20- Would you say that the consumption of alcohol or tobacco is related to the pure desire to satisfy personal desires, to drown its material problems, or simply because of habits inked in consumer cultures?

There are a lot of cultural in rural zones and more of a social statement turning into habits in more comfortable households and cities

21- Are there addiction support structures such as alcohol or tobacco?

Anti- drug programs exist, anti-tobacco programs at the ministry of health – psychiatric centers

22- If some families live on the salary of a single individual, in case of disability or illness, the economic impact of health care costs related to lack of income can weaken the well-being of the family. Is it fair to say that food is a real public health economic problem in Togo?

In fact, food is a genuine public health economic problem in Togo because of eating behaviors that are harmful to individuals and the well-being of families. By extension, such behaviors are harmful to national economic development in terms of the cost of healthcare which is itself a vector of human capital. In Togo the poor and wealthy have one thing in common in Togo quantitative satiety prime over qualitative satiety which barely exists. Over-alimentation (consumption of nutrients over normal minimum requirement) and hypo (insufficient nourishment).

23- To conclude what do you think about the food behavior in Togo and what solutions are, according to you, possible and in adequacy with the realities of the country?

Educate more the population, many have started running on week end to keep their body well. In Togo being fat was a sign of prosperity and women with shapes were considered the most beautiful but today though the media it is all changing and people are paying more and more attention to how they look and eat.

4.1.2.1.1 Findings from the ministry of agriculture

Imports, the new rich's diet: The last 10-15 years have seen a burgeoning middle class and a rapid shift towards unhealthier diets in Togolese society. Foods are increasingly imported and depicted by colonial history and media as superior. Examples include wine, champagne, meat, ham and cheese. The wealthy have the luxury of choice in this regard.

A two faced reality: Over-alimentation, which is the consumption of nutrients over normal minimum requirements and hypo-alimentation, insufficient nourishment are also problems. The wealthy have easier access to all foods and eat recklessly, whereas the poor often face hygiene problems in consuming food. Further, most vitamins associated with the popular vegetables and cereals that are consumed are lost when they are boiled which is the main cooking method in modest households. The cooking process kills a lot of nutrients but is necessary to ensure against certain bacteria. Throwing food away, even food that has expired is considered ill-mannered. Many lack the modern means to preserve food using such resources as electrically powered fridge-freezers.

The common denominators: For both the poor and the wealthy alike, food quality is of marginal interest compared to real estate and clothing. There is a preference for starch-rich foods, salt and sugar as well as for greasy foods. Eating behaviors are linked to the socio-economic conditions of individuals/families and the lack of nutritional knowledge.

Interdependence of location and eating habits: Complex diseases involve specific genetic profiles and a specific environment. Eating habits vary greatly from one region to another so there is an element of chance when it comes to nutrition. The north which is closer to the Saharan region is generally poorer, and people eat local produce. However, hygiene is problematic in poor settings. Furthermore there are only two seasons per year in the north:

one dry season lasting 6 months and one 6 month rainy season during which water bacteria and parasites such as tapeworm can spread. The lack of appropriate sanitation areas results in waste being introduced directly to natural environments. It is then scattered by rainwater into various fresh water sources including small rivers. People wash their clothes, fish and water their gardens from these sources. Diseases dominate as insects are fond of the wet season, particularly mosquitos who also cause malaria. The south's has four alternating seasons per year which support a diversified food culture based on the consumption of fruits throughout the year. In contrast, the north can neither cultivate nor consume fruits in the 6 month long dry season. Instead there is a dependence on dry or wild vegetables such as okra, and baobab leaves.

Quality at the state level: There are few controls despite the Ministry's food control department because of parallel routes that facilitate the movement of food into the country. The Ministry has a department for programs to manage non-communicable disease such as chronic cardiovascular / respiratory diseases, diabetes mellitus, cancers and kidney failure. However, convenience is the primary cause, especially for workers eating street food. To ensure healthy sales, food is often oily because fried, very salty and sweet foods are preferred. It is thought that alcohol also plays a part in health concerns to a greater degree than smoking, although this cannot be ascertained empirically. In rural areas to the north, traditional drinks such as local fermented millet beer are consumed in place of food, especially during the hot seasons. Since this product contains alcohol, excessive consumption can lead to insulin insensitivity. Harder alcohol is increasingly a symbol of social unrest and is consumed routinely in households and cities.

Regional consumption profile: Imported food is consumed more popularly in the southern cities than in the north for affordability reasons. More meat and cow's milk is consumed

in the north, and more fish is eaten in the south. Many vegetables in the north are dried before being cooked and dehydrated food is used more frequently during dryer periods.

Dealing with impacts on health: Many NCDs relate to recent economic transitioning. The impacts are felt most keenly amongst the poor who cannot afford the luxury of choice. Since the poor eat less meat and fats, they consume too much salt and cheap flavor enhancers which are toxic for those suffering high blood pressure. The nutritional intake in relation to Togolese diets is unknown.

Dietary Awareness: there is clearly a gap in nutritional knowledge and there are perhaps links here to the availability of nutritional information. Working individuals aged between 30 and 50 years who are in work have been exposed to NDCs to a greater degree because of their purchasing power. Nutrition amongst the poor is constant and when unsafe food is dumped at markets, the poor are the main victims. Some families live on a single salary and, in the case of disability or illness, the economic impact of health care costs related to the lack of income can weaken the well-being of the family. As such, food is a genuine public health economic problem in Togo because of eating behaviors that are harmful to individuals and the well-being of families. By extension, such behaviors are harmful to national economic development in terms of the cost of healthcare which is itself a vector of human capital.

What the country would need to implement: Education in relation to nutrition/ physical activities is key as modern lifestyles have less space for physical activities including land cultivation. Cultural and collective awareness must take place. In Togo, being overweight means prosperity and beauty for women. Today, international media are attempting to challenge such perceptions.

4.1.2.2 State – medical professionals and students

Informant#	<i>How would you describe eating habits in Togo, from a qualitative/quantitative standpoint (eating frequency, nutritional intake, sweet/ salty/ fat? (Ready-to-eat meals or Home cooked?)</i>
1	In Togo, eating habits vary from one region to another and from one individual to another in relation to the social classes in some of them is the purchase of ready-to-eat food and other home cooking, Worst of others no choice over their income.
2	Nutritional and nutritional behaviors in Togo vary from one region to another, depending on each family of other home cooking, while most use ready-to-eat foods.
3	Food behavior in Togo varies from one region to another or from one ethnic group to another. The frequency is depending on the harvest period for soldering 3 to 1 times a day. Less nutrient intake moderately salty fat and sweet home cooking
4	Most Togolese eat once a day their meals are often too salty too sweet too fat it is mostly home cooking
5	The cuisine in Togo is usually made at home it is often too fat and salty it is rather quantitative and qualitative and its frequency and two meals a day supply is made in the markets
6	Dietary behaviors depend on social class and culture
7	Frequency at least 2 times a day nutritional intake too salty too sweet a little fat cooked most often at home
8	Nutritional frequency and less than one meal a day instead of 3 meals a day the amount is sufficient but the quality is not there. We eat too sweet and too fat. People almost always cook at home
9	Food behavior in Togo quantitatively acceptable and nutritionally for average frequency poor nutritional intake not too salty 10 grams nor too sweet. Home cooking
10	Too salty, too fat
11	Varied- according to means and standard of living - Rural environment - 1 meal / day in the evening / Morning (rest of the day before) - Urban area 1 or 2 meals / day according to means -

Informant#	<i>In Togo, what do you think is the most important factor in the act of buying food? (Financial means, nutritional balance, state of satiety, others?)</i>
1	Financial means
2	Financial means + Nutritional balance
3	Financial means + state of being full + Nutritional balance
4	Satiety + financial means + flavor local food hygiene outfits of vendors and nutritional balance
5	Financial means + state of being full + ethnic eating habits + Nutritional balance
6	Financial means + state of being full + Nutritional balance
7	Financial means + state of being full + Nutritional balance
8	Financial means + state of being full + Nutritional balance
9	Financial means + state of being full
10	Nutritional balance
11	Financial means - Whether people have the means or not, nutrition is not a crucial concern. It loses its place at the expense of "cement" - construction / real estate to bequeath

Informant#	<i>As a healthcare professional, what factors do you consider when buying food?</i>
1	Nutritional balance
2	Nutritional balance
3	During my food purchases I take into account my financial means then the nutritional balance and then the state of satiety
4	Average financial situation + state of satiety + the flavor + nature or natural state of food + the local and corporal food hygiene of the sellers
5	Quantity + quality and possibility to store food (long term conservation)
6	Financial means + Nutritional balance
7	Nutritional balance + state of satiety + food tolerance
8	Nutritional balance + financial means
9	eating habits + Financial means
10	Financial means
11	The housewife or maid makes the purchases according to the means she has and the culinary cultural preferences of the household

Informant# *Would you say that eating habits significantly from one region to another? If so, is living in one area rather than another more advantageous/ disadvantageous? Briefly comment your answer.*

- 1 Yes, living in a region where eating habits are natural and advantageous, for example regions people eat organic food where the population is less concentrated.
- 2 Yes eating habits vary from one region to another but we can not say that it is advantageous or disadvantageous because there are the financial means of each family that is involved
- 3 Yes eating behaviors vary from one region to another living in one region rather than another may have advantages or benefits. Advantageous when you have everything and with the knowledge and the means we enjoy and advantage when we have the means and the knowledge but we can not find the products
- 4 I confirm the inhabitants of the region of Cara used to consume the baobab leaves very rich in iron 7 eating habits allow them to have a very high hemoglobin which is rare among the inhabitants of the region. South who do not have this habit
- 5 Food behavior in Togo varies greatly from one region to another region where there is a rainy season produce more vegetables and legumes than regions with a single rainy season
- 6 Food behaviors vary by region I do not think there is a benefit or disadvantage to living in a region
- 7 In reality, eating habits are highly dependent on habits and, above all, on the means and ignorance of the quality of each product. Proteins exist in vegetable form throughout the country, even if the fish is more abundant near the coast. everywhere the fruits a little less in the North
- 8 Yes we eat less fat less sweet less salty in the countryside while the opposite is observed in the cities
- 9 Yes because there are areas where agricultural production is poor because of the production difficulties related to the climate and soil
- 10 Obviously, eating habits vary greatly from one region to another, but we can not say that there is an advantage or a disadvantage because everything depends on the choice of food.
- 11 In the north there are 1 rainy season and 1 dry season last that's 6 months each in the course of the year - in the South there are 2 rainy seasons and 2 dry season which makes the dry season less long- Climate is therefore more favorable in the south - Provided that some seasons are more inclined to produce certain products. In the north the climate is good for yams for instance

Informant#	<i>From your medical consultations, would you say that new imported foods are increasingly essential in Togolese diets? What are the main ones? (Frozen foods, meat, canned goods, drinks?)</i>
1	Meat - frozen - canned - drink
2	Frozen meats and cans are more and more essential in our eating habits
3	Frozen as meat fish fries canned drinks and even fruits
4	Certainly we can mention frozen fish and chicken tomatoes in tinned fruit juice in drink denatured or synthetic fragrant rice
5	Imported foods are a must in Togo's frozen food- canned meat
6	Yes meat, canned fish
7	No more what is imported it harmful local products are without the Togolese food industry should strengthen the local production for pearl of animal protein fruit and vegetables with better preservation
8	Yes because we lean more and more towards modernization with the time factor that is lacking. Yes food for quick cooking and drinks
9	Yes frozen food/meat and drinks
10	Yes frozen meat and canned products and drinks are more and more essential
11	frozen chicken and fish

Informant#	<i>From a health and nutritional stand, what is your opinion on local and imported food products?</i>
1	Local food products cause less sanitary and nutritional concerns compared to imported foods where we do not control how they were kept and what health risks
2	From a health and nutritional point of view local food products are better than those of import
3	Local products are more or less organic while imported food products are not for the most part bio-maintained by chemicals
4	Those imported are mostly denatured synthetic industrials with negative health effects whereas this premises for the most part are natural and nutritional with origins easy to detect since they are derived from our eating habits
5	Local foods are mostly fresh and organic products import products contain chemicals and generally produce pesticides
6	local products have the advantage of being known from production to arrival at the consumer
7	Local products are more natural, less soiled, nutritious enough. import products are not natural, contain harmful chemicals to the body disease factor including cancers
8	I choose local products
9	no control and no safety from the health and nutritional point of view
10	From the point of view of health and nutrition, local products are better compared to imported products
11	

Informant#	<i>Where are they most consumed and in which part of the country? North, center, south? Urban or rural zones?</i>
1	They are consumed in the south more precisely in the city
2	These products are more consumed in the city
3	Local products are consumed throughout the entire territory North Central-South is no longer in rural areas but the products imported further south, especially in the capital
4	Local people are more consumed within the country and especially in rural areas. Those imported are more consumed in the capital and in major cities
5	Local products in the North and the rural area imported products in the south and in the city
6	I can not say
7	Local produce is more consumed north in the center and rural area behave further south and in town
8	in rural areas
9	South of the country especially but also in the rest of the country
10	imported products are more consumed in the city
11	More consumed in the maritime region (south)
Informant#	<i>By categories (fruits, vegetables, meat, fish, cereals...) which are the most consumed in the south? In the north?</i>
1	In the South the meats, the big fish are more consumed is in the North is the fruits, vegetables and cereals produced by the producers who are more consumed
2	Cereals are more eaten in the North while fruits and fish are more consumed in the South
3	Fish and vegetable fruits are more consumed in the south because of abundance while meat is consumed more in the North due to higher growth cereals are consumed in a general way
4	Meat, fish, fruit and cereals are more consumed in the south while vegetables, fruits, cereals and meats are more consumed in the North region
5	In the North there are cereals vegetables tubers fish fruits and in the south there are cereals meats fish fruits and vegetables tubers
6	fruits, meat, fish south more than north
7	In the south most consumed his cereal fish meat vegetables fruits tuber in the North most consumed without cereals vegetables tubers fish tuber
8	North: fruit- vegetables-meat- cereals- fish. South: meat- cereal- fish- vegetables- fruits
9	South: cereals, meat, vegetables, fruits, fish. North: cereals, meat, vegetables, fruits, fish
10	vegetables and meat are more consumed in the north of the country and fish and fruit in the south
11	More meat in the south and more variety of fruit (eg pineapple)

Informant#	<i>Are eating behaviors linked to the socio-economic conditions of individuals and families, to the lack of knowledge about the impact of food on health, to people's familiarity with food, to a national food deficit? Regional or other?</i>
1	Dietary behaviors are related to socio-economic conditions an employee or a rich
2	Yes eating behaviors are related to the socio-economic conditions of individuals and families
3	The familiarity of individuals with food to the socio-economic conditions of individuals and families to the lack of knowledge about the impact of food on health
4	In addition to those already mentioned, these eating behaviors are also linked to the socio-cultural and religious conditions of individuals and families
5	socio-economic condition - familiarity of individuals with food
6	Yes
7	Yes socio-economic conditions of individuals and families to the lack of knowledge of the impact of food on health to the familiarity of individuals with food with national food deficit
8	socioeconomic conditions of the individuals and the sickle
9	Yes
10	Yes eating behaviors are related to socio-economic conditions without means it is difficult to vary the food we consume quantitatively and not qualitatively
11	socio-eco conditions1 + lack of knowledge2 + National Food Safety Agency in Togo to secure food
Informant#	<i>Do you regularly face prescriptions of food supplements? If yes, what health problems and for which patient profiles? (Age, sex, family situation, profession,). If not why?</i>
1	We patients who could benefit from food supplements that are so expensive do not have the financial means to get them
2	No we do not regularly make dietary supplement prescriptions because its supplements are so expensive financial means allow it to be forgiven, but elderly people who have the means can get some
3	No preference for dietary advice especially for children and the elderly
4	Yes in nutritional deficiencies alcoholic weaning, sensory disorders in neurology, in electrolyte imbalances (resuscitation burned following surgery in mechanical occlusions of carcinogenic origin of the digestive tract => undernutrition elderly person
5	yes - age
6	no
7	Not because of ignorance of the importance of food supplements
8	yes for reanimation patients unable to eat orally
9	from 40 years, man and woman, official or not for severe undernutrition
10	Yes in malnourished patients especially in children and the elderly suffering and denutris
11	No but marginally prescribed - children and people with precarious food balance

Informant# *Based on your professional experiences, do you observe more or less cases of complex diseases? Since when? How can this be explained?*

- 1 Yes since my entry into health training this is explained most often in relation to the poverty of individuals
- 2 Yes for more than 7 years and this can be explained by everyone's way of life
- 3 Yes, from the 2000s to the present day, this can be explained by the influence of other cultures of the change of behavior of the mutation of the culinary art - thanks to the evolution of the medicine one manages to diagnose more
- 4 We have been observing many cases of complex disease since the 21st century because of the fact that the Togolese do not eat much better food habits, more industrial-chemical or toxic food now
- 5 There are more complex since the 2000s - causes: dietary habits, polluted environment and sedentary lifestyle
- 6 not personally
- 7 Yes for about twenty years by insufficient intake by insufficient meal by unbalanced meal
- 8
- 9 yes cancers, since the last 5 years, air pollution, toxic and food
- 10 No

11 Hypertension + Diabetes (stress, genetic profile + diet) more and more frequent

Informant# *According to you, what is the share of consumption habits in health problems such as diabetes mellitus, high blood pressure, heart disease and cancer?*

- 1 Uncontrolled food consumption causes health problems in this case diabetes mellitus hypertension and cancer
- 2 The excessive consumption of frozen products and tin can so we do not know the means of conservation
- 3 The part of consumption habits in health problems is found in the ignorance of the influences of one's food on health, especially in excess
- 4 We eat too sweet too salty more chemical than organic program
- 5 poor diet is the cause of many diseases - hta and cardiovascular diseases: alcohol and tobacco - cancer: industrial products, tobacco, alcohol - Diabetes - sweets
- 6 An important part since habits have indeed changed
- 7 For diabetes intake of too much sugar from sedentary tubers- for high blood pressure salty intake (salt water, meal too salty, stress) - for heart disease - Sedimentarity salt water too salty meal and for the concert foods take away stress and frozen
- 8 habituation to certain consumptions
- 9 these are risk factors
- 10 Consumption of salt, fat and frozen products

11

Informant#	<i>For contraindicated foods, which feeding alternatives are patients offered?</i>
1	yes but not interesting
2	Yes
3	Yes we are meeting more and more alternatives
4	In place of white sugar we can propose honey sugar and brown sugar olive oil and sunflower instead of animal or vegetable oil filled with cholesterol - white meat instead of red meat
5	Yes
6	If there are still some
7	Yes local products
8	No
9	yes nutritionists
10	Yes

11 Institute of Agronomy (Cacaveli)

Informant#	<i>Based on their health history, do you estimate the impact of diets on the health of your patients?</i>
1	Yes
2	Yes
3	yes with regard to more children
4	Through questioning we measure the impact from the amount of salt sugar consumed - through the quality of the oils or types of meat consumed
5	Yes
6	No
7	Yes but not enough if there is a hospitalized patient we ask the electrophoresis of the protides and protidemia
8	Yes
9	You need an epidemiological survey
10	Yes, non-consumption of fruit for example can promote hypertension

11 yes . It is a general observation

Informant#	<i>Do you frequently have cases of malnutrition/undernutrition? If yes, increasingly? Decreasingly?</i>
1	
2	no
3	there is an decrease of diagnosis
4	Yes the curve is often decadent
5	no
6	Yes, there are cases of malnutrition and under nutrition
7	This work has never been done to my knowledge
8	
9	yes decandente
10	yes, the curve is rather ascending slightly
Informant#	<i>Age can be indicative of family and professional status. For each age group what is the most recurrent evil linkable to individual eating behaviors?</i>
1	
2	Hypertension, diabetes, cancers
3	ignorance (ignorance)
4	
5	More nutritional deficiency in children and elderly - malnutrition unhealthy diet in youth and adults
6	unbalanced diet
7	
8	Children depend on parents so depend on what their parents give them for most adults work so it's in this age group that things had to change by eating better. older people are mostly dependent and retired unable to move (little means and move little to find their desired products)
9	
10	Before 15 years: dwarfism, kwshokor, predisposition to infections - after 15 years: predisposition to infections
	digestive cancers
	Hypertension and diabetes
11	Back to question 1 - children and malnourished people

Informant#	<i>To which degree are tobacco and alcoholic beverages consumed in Togo and for which profiles?</i>
1	Tobacco and alcoholic beverages are less consumed in Togo. Those who are eaten are often in the cities and it is the young men
2	Tobacco and alcoholic drinks are less consumed most people especially young people are often in cities
3	Yes tobacco on a fringe of young and old and alcoholic beverages in general regarding all slices and over male
4	Yes more alcoholic drinks than tobacco - local drink at least a small glass of sodabe a day or at least 3 gourds of toukoutou or palm drink for a low socio-economic level - at the socio-economic level high at least one bottle of beer a day or 1 glass of liquor a day
5	tabasc and alchool are consumed at Togo- frequently - no typical profile (heterogeneous)
6	Yes more alcoholic drinks
7	Yes at about 50%, by youth and adults (may be little for tobacco)
8	
9	tobacco and alcoholic beverages are not widely consumed in Togo. Especially among force workers
10	of course from 18 years old
11	Before old people but most of them do not fare in young people - on the rise globally

Informant#	<i>In your opinion, is alcohol/tobacco consumption in the Togolese society linked to personal desires, material problems or cultures?</i>
1	Most often people say that the consumption of alcohol or tobacco is related to the pure pleasure of satisfying personal desires to drown its material problems in my opinion it is an imitation since the young age that becomes a habit C also related to the group where we are and the religion we practice
2	Most do it to drown their material problems the rest it is the habits inked in the cultures of consumption
3	For some, the consumption of alcohol or tobacco is related to the desire to satisfy personal wishes, but for the great majority it is consumed for the purpose of renting the material problems by the fact also in certain regions usually written in consumer cultures
4	In addition to all that is mentioned above, do not forget that we are in Africa and there are bad things of a mystical nature that are thrown at the people who force them to drink.
5	habits inked in consumer cultures - to address their material problems
6	consumer cultures + drown their problems
7	All of these factors can coexist
8	drown their material problems
9	personal desire, culture and financial means
10	Yes

Informant# *Are there any addiction support structures in Togo?*

- 1 I do not know
- 2 Yes
- 3 There are few structures to help addictions such as alcohol or tobacco they are more known
- 4 Yes, there is a psychiatry and addictology service with the psychologist and addictologist at the CHU Campus Dr. Soedjo) his patients are receiving psychotherapy - a goal of addiction associated with taking medication with side effects
- 5 Yes
- 6 not to my knowledge - however psychiatrists offer solutions
- 7 The NGOs but I personally do not know the impact
- 8
- 9 insufficient
- 10 Yes
- 11

Informant# *Is food a true public health problem and by extension an economic challenge for Togo?*

- 1 Food is a public health problem in Togo because of eating behaviors that are detrimental to individual and family and national well-being because unsuitable eating behavior destroys the workforce impact on the national economy
- 2 Yes
- 3 This is mainly due to dietary behavior related to economic power insufficient purchasing power
- 4 Of course we share this opinion since it is enough for a father to be sick so it is a whole generation that is sacrificed and moreover a whole nation
- 5 Yes, food is a public problem in Togo
- 6 Yes it's right
- 7 Yes, it can be said, demonition factor and diseases
- 8
- 9 Yes
- 10 Yes

11 oui

Informant#	<i>Which solutions are, according to you, possible and in adequacy with the realities of the country?</i>
1	The government should take steps to control food on the market avoid importing food products sensitize the public about the risks of unsuitable food products
2	The authority must take steps to curb the entry of imported foods into the Togolese market to raise awareness of the risks of these foods
3	Enhance agricultural production raise awareness about nutritional balance with local products make a big campaign against malnutrition
4	Awareness of the effects of eating behaviors on health ("that all food is your first medicine" according to Hippocrates) on the virtues of natural foods grown at the national level - improve the socio-economic conditions of the Togolese population - Program project promoting the production and consumption of natural or local products and their transformation - improving road infrastructure for better circulation of these products throughout the territory
5	Develop an agriculture oriented mainly towards food crops - Implement programs of assistance and supervision of farmers - promote the consumption of local products - regulate and control the quality of imported products
6	the solutions would pass by: the increase of the standard of living + an education on the behavior
7	Consumption of local products by improving their packaging presentation and by making information and education for health regularly
8	Increase wages - create professional activities - increase prices of alcoholic beverages for tobacco and soft drinks
9	Regulation and control of the food chain in Togo
10	Sensitization to the production of organic food - non-consumption of imported products - Training in natural conservation of products of the country

Informant#	<i>To conclude, what personal/ professional analyses do you draw from eating patterns in the Togolese society?</i>
1	Food is the source of water various diseases in Togo the restriction of imported food for the benefit of food naturally produced in Togo the smile of a population
2	Food behavior is a serious problem in Togo the government must prohibit the entry into the country if possible frozen products and cans on the market for the benefit of our natural agricultural products to reduce the risk of these diseases
3	Food behaviors are shifting to those of the West. abandonment of local eating habits. at the professional level there is a growth in the number of diabetic hypertension and the concert which deserves to draw the attention of all it is also a factor of reduction of the economic power by treatment excessively expensive and one falls back on the cycle of poverty => malnutrition
4	The eating habits have become increasingly mediocre with the time too much sugar too much salt too much alcohol too much fat too much tobacco too much drug to name just that in the younger and younger subjects with consequences like the occurrence early and more common cardiovascular disease and cancer
5	Food in Togo is much more quantitative and qualitative this is due to precarious financial means but also to a bad agro-pastoral policy so it is fundamental to develop agriculture which is the bedrock of all Progress
6	The food habits in Togo are governed by the financial means available local products available eating habits of attack is better the food culture of peoples
7	Togolese do not like local products - prefer imported products that are more harmful to health - they do not eat balanced or healthy - prefer to stay in habits + financial means
8	We do not eat well in Togo
9	inadequacies in the quality of food products in Togo
10	Food too salty - too sweet and too oily - lack of consumption of vegetables and fruits - Quantitative and non-qualitative food - a lot of consumption of imported products

4.1.2.2.1 Findings from medical professional and students

By and large, stakeholders advance that eating choices and behaviors predominantly depend on family culture/philosophies followed by finances and the differences between northern and southern climates and their proximity to the sea. Such conditions, combined with historicity, are the genesis of many cultures and behaviors. Dietary history relating to age, gender power, and marital status are secondary determinants common to both the north and south.

The rising demand for imports owes to the growing middle class, but also to population growth. Some 80% of participants identify financial means as a priority when it comes to food choice. The Togolese, according to healthcare professionals appear unaware of the impact of nutrition in terms of the cost of diets as well as physical and mental health. Moreover, the question of food quality is not pertinent in Togolese society. Food quality loses its place at the expense of "cement" i.e. construction / real estate. Affordability is a predominant factor, followed by taste and satiety. Besides, choices are limited to what is available at open air markets and from roadside vendors. The notion of local production is mostly discussed in media broadcasts without comprehension of the implications for the local economy. Largely, being able to feed one's household with edible foodstuffs is sufficient to satisfy the poor, and the rich make 'the basics' more pleasurable through the disproportionate intake of less healthy foodstuffs.

Most interviewees agree that there are significant disparities between the regions in terms of climate, topography, rurality and culture. Thus, living in a region has at least an impact on the sole content of the dishes consumed. Only a few suggested that location has no significant impact nowadays. Some participant positions are elaborated upon below. Living in a region where diverse and naturally grown products exist is an advantage in

topographic and climatic terms. There are areas where agricultural production is poor due to production difficulties related to climate and soil. Those advancing that location is irrelevant justify this by suggesting that it is the only financial factor that guides eating patterns in Togo. The north which is mostly rural is poorer, and is defined by moderate consumption, whereas the south which is largely urban is dominated by excess. The third aspect concerns cultural aspects and familiarity with foods. That is, people perpetuate their family habits shaped by beliefs, traditions and history.

Imported foods have come to dominate diets in Togolese society, however this is accentuated in the south and in the moderate to highly urbanized zones. The origins of those imported goods are dubious. The sanitary control of imported goods does not occur automatically. Many goods that have passed their sell-by date are still sold. Some cases of fraud in terms of accurate expiry dates have been reported but these are not easy to quantify. Fraud is thought to be widespread and to affect quite a significant share of the market. Food behaviors continue to take strong orientation from the Western world, with the new emerging professional profiles and the rise and diversification of the middle class. Time is an important variable with increasingly demanding employers. The pursuit of convenience and time saving has led people to adopt unhealthy dietary behaviors leading to health complications. The trend of shifts in economic power starts with preconceptions about local food. Diet is no longer a matter of culture, tradition and natural environment, and is increasingly a matter of social class distinctiveness.

According to the interviewees, from a health and nutritional point of view, local food products cause less sanitary and nutritional concerns compared to imported foods. This is particularly the case with frozen food. The risk of compromising the cold chain integrity is not monitored and exposure to hazardous areas cannot be certified, so buyers neglect the

health risks they are exposed to. Meal vendors who do not own private cold systems may keep left overs overnight resulting in bacterial contamination. This also applies to the poor/inexistent transport systems used to transfer frozen meats over long distances. Local products are more or less organic, often because people lack the means to access fertilizers. Imported food products are, for most part bio-maintained by chemicals. However, when they have reached their expiry date, the dates on containers are often erased/ modified. Many retailers, and particularly women are illiterate and are therefore unaware of such practices.

Certain patients could benefit from food supplements which are otherwise extremely expensive for average citizens. Insurance is not universal, and only affordable to the higher social classes. Dietary supplement prescriptions are therefore unusual unless they are considered compulsory to maintain life. Those implicated included elders with weak health conditions, pregnant women, those with nutritional deficiencies, alcoholics, patients with sensory disorders in terms of neurology and those with electrolyte imbalances or cannot feed themselves after surgery.

The research participants acknowledge a rising trend in diagnoses of complex diseases since the 2000s²⁸³. Such an increase not only relates to the dietary habits of the rich and their preferences for junk food, but also to poverty levels as the poor drink cheap alcohol instead of food and they eat salty and fatty foods. There therefore appears to be a relationship between food consumption and health conditions, but it is hard to assert

²⁸³ To the question “Based on your professional experiences, do you observe more or less cases of complex diseases? Since when? How can this be explained?” some answers were:

“Yes since my entry into health training this is explained most often in relation to the poverty of individuals”

“Yes for more than 7 years and this can be explained by everyone's way of life”

“Yes, from the 2000s to the present day, this can be explained by the influence of other cultures of the change of behavior of the mutation of the culinary art - thanks to the evolution of the medicine one manages to diagnose more”

specifically that a dietary behavior is the only cause of ill health. Genetics, stress and other factors play a role. However, existing conditions can be exacerbated by poor diet.

People increasingly trust modern medicine whereas they used to depend on herbalists /spirituals healers. Many continue to use traditional healers and street medicine vendors and some suspicion of modern medicine prevails. Social change has also provoked a deep inequality with worsening poverty in certain milieus. Insufficient nutritional intake in such cases is almost certainly due to poor or unbalanced meals. Whilst dietary recommendations are often simple, not all recommendations are affordable or practicable. Many find such recommendations are restrictive. Prevention is not popular as the belief is that no one can trick “destiny”.

Unanimously, food is seen as a public health problem in Togo because of detrimental eating behaviors. The dominant explanation is that unsuitable eating behavior destroys the workforce. In Togo the notion of family extends to entire communities. When an entire community lives on a single salary, and once the major provider encounters health problems, treatment expenses can render several households vulnerable. This is worsened when the main provider’s salary is already low. Public health problems through the eyes of Togolese health professionals are typically caused by diets primarily dictated by household income. This is destructive when incomes are too high due to excesses, and detrimental when they are too low due to deficiencies and a lack of variation to the diet. The growth in the diagnoses of diabetics, hypertensive conditions and cancer deserves national attention since these are considered a threat to the national workforce which is a pillar of a strong national economy. Indeed, the treatments for such health problems can instigate a decline in the households’ economic status. As such, eating habits can quickly and perilously become degraded with drastic falls in household living standards.

4.1.2.3 Formal private business - Pharmacists

Questionnaire #3 - Pharmacists

-recorded interviews

A1 : pharmacist 1 - 25.10.17, 11:42:50

A2: pharmacist 2 - 26.10.17, 13:22:22

A3: pharmacist 3- 26.10.17, 07:39:12

1- As a private corporation, with which organization are you registered and box?

A1: Department of Health. DPML Directorate of Pharmacy, drugs and laboratories

A2: Ministry of Health (in the direction of the pharmacies for the approval to the opening and license renewal every 5 years in the pipes) + DPML Directorate of Pharmacy, drugs and laboratories.

A3: To have a Doctorate of state in pharmacy + + authorization products delivered by wholesalers approved Ministry of Health (in the direction of the pharmacies for the approval to the opening and license renewal every 5 years in the pipes) +

2- Are you regularly monitored by a body? If yes, which, at what frequency and on what?

A1: Minister of Health + DPML especially (Division inspection which mainly control). Unscheduled Inspections by period - Random choice of the Area 1x/2years or 1x/year or if confreres indicate a breach of a pharmacy. Ex. for the care it must be a pharmacist therefore not of guard without dedicated pharmacist + Regulation of the hours of work (if a pharmacy works up to 22h then that it is not custody).

A2: Ministry of Health + DPML especially (Division inspection which mainly control) - not too often controlled. It is the licensee who controls its inventory and stock

A3: Not regularly. We are controlled by ministry of health department inspectors or pharmacist inspectors

3- Do your customers have insurance? What are the profiles of those who benefit from an insurance and those who do not? Sex, Age, with/without profession, marital status and family

A1: No insurance because not yet computerized because the principle is still recent in Togo, cash payment. Any type.

A2: Inam insurance only, assurance of state. Purchase on insurance to its beginnings.

A3: Inam insurance only, private insurance with companies where they work. Individuals It is rare. An individual does not ensure as staff. The offer is not sufficient from this point of view. The health insurance begins and is not yet integrated in the society. The insurance is in its infancy. With the INAM It is good but for Togo what it is taken must serve and it does not accept to pay for the things which it would benefit may not be. The INAM allows a better regularization of the movement of medicinal products

Have you noted an evolution in the purchases of products related to diabetes mellitus, hypertension, renal failure, cardiac problems? In what order and since when?

A1: Yes in 4 years, from single to double especially for diabetes mellitus and hypertension. Type 2 diabetes especially the power supply (those who drink too much and their faith ends up losing the sensitivity to insulin) and diabetes and hypertension are overweight. The renal impairment goes directly to the hospital where it is treated

A2: Yes

A3: Yes. The Diabetes + hypertension increase of the request (drugs treatment)

Do you regularly face to the requirements of food supplements? If yes to what profiles of patients? Are these drugs always available?

A1: Yes, Children and very elderly people. Yes only a few rare times in rupture

A2: Not too. Yes. Children and very elderly people. Yes only a few rare times in rupture

A3: Availability ok+ drugs of the street due to the lack of knowledge of the official circuits or prices despite the generic products refreshed. Sometimes they do not even ask the price of drugs because for them it is always expensive. Problem of therapeutic education. Treatment for life is not very interesting.

Vis-a-vis the diseases mentioned above, if some drugs are unavailable, please explain why. Is it according to you one of the reasons for which some customers would switch to street vendors or black market?

A2: Availability OK. The parallel markets are not too intended for chronic diseases but offer especially of anti-inflammatory drugs even if it can happen that some add in relation to the effectiveness of the product that they sell or offer products against hypertension (althenol). Not necessarily of the infringement. A professor has found of tramadol on the market but of products not well measured (50mg on box but 100mg to the inside). What they are doing is not controlled. Normally you can take up to 150mg /day out there who say to take 10 tablets to mix with honey, which damaged the faith. Doliprane exposed to the sun becomes need but at the outset a leak. Absence of means main reason even if there are skeptical.

A2: Availability OK in general. Sometimes unavailable but they seek and find and communicate with customers - products of different classes several drugs instead of one. It is a question of trust with the care staff, but financial problem also

A3: Availability OK.

- 7- Are there cases of clients who for financial reasons have renounced the pharmaceutical care modern conventional to switch to street vendors of drugs, healers or other means of treatment outside of the doctor's recommendations?

A1: Yes when a drug falls out of stock, having made the tour of the city a patient can order in a pharmacy. A special order is place in France. In such case the product is very expensive. If patient cannot buy it, it is likely that he/she seeks a solution in the street. However the street offers painkillers and boosters, not long term treatments as requested by metabolic diseases as diabetes for example.

A2: Yes often. The price is important factor and education. The itinerant drugs are drugs (things made in an illicit way have assays, dangerous- quality of production and molecules). The effects of these drugs on the people is that it calms inflammation but will not cure and there is no follow-up compared to the legal products followed with returns pharmacists and physicians.

A3: Yes.

- 8- Please give a few examples of difference of these drugs between these drugs and those sold to the modern pharmacy.

A1: Problem of proximity also because Paracetamol is not more expensive in pharmacy that to the market. The atenolol of the pharmacy to 500XOF and that of the market to 300XOF F for example therefore not huge difference.

A3: Cannot say precisely.

- 9- Are sellers of drugs without official denomination of "Pharmacy " a minimum framed by the Act? If yes what is the organization of control?

A1: Department fact descents in the streets and in the markets and seize (1x times on 2 the sellers are arrested) - seizure of goods without imprisonment. Question of political will. In Benin there is virtually no more drugs in the street. Benin has made progress in the matter. The Director of Pharmacy has gotten rid of the magnate of distribution of drugs. A recent study said that the trafficking of drugs is 5 to 15 x more lucrative than drug trafficking.

A2: Any sales of medication out of the official approval is illegal in Togo. So there is no control service.

A3: Not. There are deposits to the interior of the country to compensate for the lack of pharmacy in rural areas. Under the covers policies there are leaks. Some of the Deposits will provide outside the legal circuit. There are a lot of counterfeiting. The true and therefore of the false or deposits of also provide because actions are beyond the reach of the Act.

- 10- What is your opinion on these drugs to import? (Counterfeiting, official drug trafficking, other...?)

A1: Not necessarily the counterfeiting but very rarely

A2: Not necessarily the counterfeiting but very rarely

A3: Much forgery.

11- Are you to the facts of how they arrive on the territory and are distributed?

A1: Not especially but land, leakage

A1: Not specially maybe land, leakage

A3: Port where there is less control. Laboratories of counterfeiting in Nigeria. As there are a lot of money. More risky to be a hard drug trafficker than medication. Little control in relation to medication trafficking

12- Do you have any evidence on the benefits/harms of these drugs?

A1: Especially of renal impairment because products purchased in the illicit markets and as long as the high blood pressure is not seen it continues and is not going to make check because it takes medicines not prescribed by the doctor.

A2: They do not say they have taken drugs from outside. In general it is when there is the harm that they come to take medication but advised to see their doctor for an assessment prior to starting any treatment.

13- Are they really and still perceived by a significant part of the population as a real alternative to conventional pharmacies?

A1: Yes but the attitudes have evolved because many cases of renal deficiencies have shown the harm

A2: Yes in remote rural areas or there is no pharmacy.

A3: Yes. Pharmacists do not communicate sufficiently on the safety of medicines. The Togo is not very receptive to the dangers especially when the financial means are a brake. Delays in the processing of supported, toxic effects that we cannot measure. In general it is too late when they are aware of the problem.

14- In what part of the country are they the most consumed? North, Center, South? City or rural area?

A1: In the city compared to the number of inhabitants, there is yet but there is less control, in the center and a little more to the north, so strong likelihood of affluence. Representation on the territory more in rural area. Less of dispensaries and no control therefore more to purchase in rural area

A2: Rural area

A3: Counterfeiting more in the city but in rural area Traditional Medicine

15- Do you think that the purchases of these products are related to the socio-economic conditions of individuals and families or to the lack of knowledge of the potential harmful impacts on their health in the short and long term?

A1: Both (misinformation and ignorance)

A2: Misinformation, ignorance and the problem of proximity

A3: Both but there also some mystic approach of health problems

4.1.2.3.1 Findings from pharmacists

In a society where self-medication and street medicines are widespread, the aim of these interviews with pharmacists was to appreciate the population's knowledge of medicine in terms of nutrition-related health troubles such as cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, hypertension etc.

To open a pharmacy one must have a state doctorate/ state approved doctorate in the field of pharmacy as well as authorization to order and sell products delivered by international registered pharmaceutical firms, laboratories or manufacturers. One must have sought approval from the ministry of Health's special health department committed to pharmacies, the DPML (Directorate of Pharmacy, medicines and laboratories). All other pharmaceutical products sold outside the scope of the pharmacy not only is informal but also illegal.

The Ministry of Health and DPML are in charge of controls, and more precisely, the special inspection subdivision is in charge of controls such as the opening hours of pharmacists. In Togo, pharmacies are generally not yet equipped to procure medication through insurance claims. Private insurance is affordable only to the rich. The recent insurance assistance the government set up for state workers is not yet effective everywhere due to a lack of technological materials in many pharmacies. Funds allocated per individual are limited to the point that individuals still have to pay significant amounts of money to cover medication costs. This encourages illegal street medicine sales.

In the last 4-5 years, there has been a doubling of NCD prescription cases, especially for diabetes mellitus and hypertension. Type 2 diabetes causes a great deal of damage. Hypertension and diabetes are also increasing and concern those that are overweight.

However, renal failure has reached a critical phase and is almost entirely treated in hospitals. Food supplements are mostly prescribed for children and the elderly.

Medicine availability is not a problem, as pharmacies can order from abroad. However the cost can be a hindrance to proper treatment. The lifetime costs of modern chronic disease treatment leads to perpetuating damaging dietary habits and consultations with spiritual healers for street anti-inflammatories. There is certainly lack of therapeutic education.

Parallel markets medicines (often addictive anti-inflammatory drugs) can be sold for chronic disease treatment. Much is forged and some comes from illicit drug trafficking. Some supplies have illegally leaked out of the legal circuit and have been exposed to the sun. In such cases the treatment is ineffective. As controls are rare, inventories can easily be stockpiled. Fraud also exists. Informal labs exist and are not subject to the usual controls. One professor came across a drug that was labelled as 50mg on box but contained 100mg. When daily intakes should be 150mg /day a street vendor advises customers to take 10 tablets at once mixed with honey, which can damage the liver. The lack of financial support for pharmacies is therefore problematic.

When big street suppliers are caught, goods are seized and supposedly destroyed. Once or twice per year at the most some sellers may be arrested but released soon afterwards due to 'connections in high places'. The seizure of goods does not necessarily mean imprisonment. According to the research participants, the medications businesses offer are very lucrative in Togolese informal markets. Such drugs are five to fifteen times more profitable than hard drug trafficking and will continue to frustrate authorities as long as laws are unenforceable.

Certain cases of renal impairment have been reported after indulging in illicit medication over a long period. High blood pressure is not always felt by patients, and go without diagnosis and treatment. Pain medicines are bought on the illicit market causing renal failure. In general, many report to the pharmacy after a complication as a last resort after street medicine has been taken and spiritual healers have been consulted. They are advised to see a doctor first.

Nonetheless, behaviors are evolving amongst the population as many cases of renal deficiencies have shown the harm caused by recklessness to be linked to a diagnosis of diabetes or hypertension. It is customary that pharmacists do not communicate sufficiently as to the safety of medicines. Furthermore many are not very receptive to the dangers, especially when the financial means are at stake and the delayed toxic effects cannot be measured over the short term. In general it is too late when problems are identified by a doctor.

4.1.2.4 Formal private business – health insurance companies

Lomé, 26.10.17, 13:56:54

–recorded interview

Questionnaire #2 - Insurance company - GTA-C2A – company representative

1- How well is your company doing?

We are the leading insurance company in Togo with 45% of market share

2- Since when does the business exist and what is the workforce?

GTA was founded in 1973 and C2A in 1989. They have merged in 2002 to become GTA-C2A

3- Does the company have foreign shareholders? How? Who are the key decision makers?

Yes. Most of stakeholders are not Togolese.

4- Are you present on the entire Togolese territory?

We have headquarters in Lomé, the capital but have subsidiaries in the main cities throughout the country:

Kara, Sokodé, Kpalimé, Nosté, Lomé, Dapaong, Atakpamé

5- What types of insurance do you offer?

Life, accident, disasters, disease

6- Would you say that in general the Togolese trust insurers or demand their service commonly? Why?

Individuals do not insure not necessarily for trust issues but for financial reason. They get insurance through the company they work for.

7- Which of your services are the most requested?

All types of insurance are demanded: health, accident, life, etc.

8- What types of social profiles seek your services, especially for reasons of health?

Only companies. In Togo it is uncommon for individual purchase insurance coverage. Togo is a low-income country. Most people hardly save and when they do, they invest it in housing. Health insurance is not popular. People prefer manage with illness or life accidents rather than pay and have the feeling they are not directly benefiting from the money they spend. Some taxi drivers come for insurance only because the police has controlled them and ask them to get insurance before they can drive again. When it is not an obligation, the average Togolese would not sign up for insurance for any reason.

9- Can applicants be provided an explanation of contract terms if the legal language in French is not easily understandable?

No. There is no service dedicated to translating and individuals are not in contact with the insurance companies because mainly companies demand insurance for their employees.

10- What are in general the profiles eligible? (Legal person or individual? Sex, Age, professional situation, marital or/and family, level of studies, social coverage, housing, etc.)

Principally, state employees and their families, big private businesses and some of their employees.

- 11- Is the history of health a key element in the acceptance of a request? If yes what are the types of diseases that are most at risk of refusal?

Of course we take into account the history of the persons. However we never turn down a demand and make an offer than can be either accepted or rejected. Of course we take into account chronic diseases,

- 12- These last years have you noted an evolution in the purchases of products related to complex diseases such as: diabetes mellitus, hypertension, heart disease and cancer?

We do not have a software that allows us to segment diseases and whether certain diseases have evolved over time. Today these metabolic diseases have evolved but we cannot quantify them. Togolese put a lot of oil with imported frozen meats that are full of hormones and lack sanitary control. We do not even know their origin but only that they are marked vegetable oil.

Sedentary life also plays a role because our parents used to get up earlier in morning and working in the fields located at a great distances from home. Those field products were then consumed at home. Today not only do we have less physical activity we eat all sorts of products which safety are questionable. Obesity contrarily to genera knowledge can also be a problem in Africa especially among the middle class.

- 13- Over the last 10 years, what is the trend of demand for treatments?

As said we do not and cannot quantify demands per illness type.

- 14- On applications for insurance life and disease of the last 5 years, could you estimate the percentage of applications rejected in the face of complex diseases and food habits?

We do not quantify but there definitely are growing demand for treatment. But this may also be due to scientific progress and more consultation by people of modern medicine for diagnosis.

- 15- What usually is the cause of the refusal or subsequent cessation of an applicant to be insured?

Based on health history, the cost of insurance is generally dissuasive when the employee can only participate partially and the employees also have to participate in paying the fees.

Questionnaire #2 - Insurance company - SUNU – company representative

1- How well is your company doing?

Rather well since demand for coverage are increasing.

2- Since when does the business exist and what is the workforce?

1998. In Togo it was established in 1999 and the workforce accounts for 40-42 people

3- Does the company have foreign shareholders? How? Who are the key decision makers?

Shareholders are mostly foreigner to (95%) and therefore the decision makers are French and from other African countries. The President Pathe Diong is from Senegal.

4- Are you present on the entire Togolese territory?

We have headquarters in Lomé, the capital but have subsidiaries in 6 cities throughout the country: Kara, Sokodé, Kpalimé, nosté, Lomé, Dapaong.

5- What types of insurance do you offer?

We started with life insurance but are now doing all type of insurance: health, accident, disasters, national and international coverages (Africa and EU)

6- Would you say that in general the Togolese trust insurers or demand their service commonly? Why?

There are no individual insurance per say as it can be the case in developed countries. Togo being a low-income country the law of the greater the number in insurance remain a problem. Many companies get insurance for their employees. People are not always ready to pay the risk prime as the law of large numbers in insurance must be met. In the case of healthcare peoples usually would rather seek for a solution to pay when there is a problem rather than have an insurance that might not be needed. However there is more and more demand that drives SUNU to study the case for an insurance offer for individuals in 2018 because the premium and prime to pay is too expensive for the average Togolese. So it is a matter of means.

7- Which of your services are the most requested?

Accident, health and life

8- What types of social profiles seek your services, especially for reasons of health?

Mainly companies. Even though today we are having more and more individual demands. We intervene for all types of medical care including consultations – analyzes – medical treatments – surgical interventions, etc.

9- Can applicants be provided an explanation of contract terms if the legal language in French is not easily understandable?

Today the ewe which is a southern dialect and was predominant in the south is also understood everywhere today, translating would not be an issue either as we have agencies in the main cities. However for the individual

to contract an affordable insurance coverage is hardly doable due to the reluctance of individual to pay 1-2 first years' worth of treatment that could be used in case of care and cover the insurance company. So usually insurance sold are not individual but business insurances.

10- What are in general the profiles eligible? (Legal person or individual? Sex, Age, professional situation, marital or/and family, level of studies, social coverage, housing, etc.)

Usually offers we have interest organization, private or state companies for employees and their families.

11- Is the history of health a key element in the acceptance of a request? If yes what are the types of diseases that are most at risk of refusal?

In a way yes but there is no refusal. An offer is made to the client according to their health history and if claims are incoherent, controls are undertaken. Usually the offer is declined as the client is asked to pay a minimum amount that covers potential problems, which is usually very high.

12- These last years have you noted an evolution in the purchases of products related to complex diseases such as: diabetes mellitus, hypertension, heart disease and cancer?

In fact we have amounting cases of high blood pressure prescription as well as prescriptions for diabetes and more and more of kidney failures that may be the consequence of infections, some antibiotics, uncontrolled diabetes, reduced blood flow caused by high blood pressure or anti-inflammatory medications, alcohol and drugs, etc...) and Hepatitis. However we fix a cap of treatments that can be taken in charge by the insurance because some pathologies are so expensive that we cannot afford to guarantee a full medical care coverage. We do not have a software that allows us to segment the diseases or to know if certain diseases have evolved in time. Today these metabolic diseases have evolved but we cannot quantify them.

13- Over the last 10 years, what is the trend of demand for treatments?

There is an obvious increase in metabolic chronic diseases treatments

14- On applications for insurance life and disease of the last 5 years, could you estimate the percentage of applications rejected in the face of complex diseases and food habits?

Medicine and treatments are classified by type of intervention but not by illness. However, globally, more and more money is spent over cases of diabetes and high blood pressure. Many state employees once they have a stable job tend to have excessive unhealthy lifestyles. Excessive consumption of oils, sugar, salt, meat, etc.

15- What usually is the cause of the refusal or subsequent cessation of an applicant to be insured?

The rule of number plays a big part in our offers. First individuals would not be ready to pay the amount to cover the first years simply because the number of adherents is not important enough to cover the cost. But as the society is changing there is more and more demand that could lead to more affordable insurance offer to make. However most Togolese would expect the money they invest in a year to serve a purpose otherwise they could have the feeling of wasting money for nothing especially among the low working classes.

4.1.2.4.1 Findings from insurances companies: GTA and SUNU

Individuals rarely take out health insurance. Some are insured through their employer. Large numbers in insurance remain a problem as, besides corporate insurance and some wealthy families, health insurance is not popular. People are not always ready to pay what they call a simple “risk”. As such, insurance is a matter of means. However SUNU insurances indicate that there are more and more individual demands from the growing middle to rich class categories driving the company to develop new projects destined for private individuals in 2018. Insurance, even when considered ‘affordable’ by insurers, remains unaffordable to the average citizen. Many businesses subscribe to insurance plans allowing employees to marginally complete, yet with questionable willingness. No form of insurance coverage is typically turned down. Chronic and cardiovascular diseases, and other health problems that require heavy, expensive and lifetime treatments often determine the cost of coverage. An offer is always made to the client in accordance with their health history but many decline the offer since they have no means to pay. As there is no client segmentation per disease type, it is hard to accurately evaluate the evolution of certain diseases. Companies say that even though non-quantifiable, metabolic diseases have evolved because of amounting diagnoses of high blood pressure prescriptions as well as prescriptions for diabetes. The maximum available coverage is fixed as certain pathologies are so expensive that companies cannot guarantee full medical care coverage. In such cases patients still have to pay a substantial amount for coverage. As society evolves, rising demand leads to the possibility to make more affordable offers in terms of healthcare. However, most Togolese expect that the money they invest in the course of a year to serve a purpose, otherwise they may feel they are wasting their money for nothing.

4.1.2.5 Informal private business - Spiritual healers/ herbalists

Lomé, 02.11.17, 17:43:28

- recorded

interview

Questionnaire #5 – Semi-formal business – Alpha /alchemist /spiritual healer

Age	Gender	Professional activity	Marital status	Household size	Ethnicity	Academic education	Household location	housing	Work location	Social Class
65	M	Spiritual healer/herbalist	Married (3wives)	5	Bassar (North)	Junior high	Lomé	rent	Lomé	low

1- How would you define the profession of healer?

People who are tired of modern medicine and seek peace and healing – treats illnesses

2- What do you think of modern medicine?

Those who consult an alpha do it because they treatments are not immediate

3- Are there any foods that you advise or advise your patients based on their illness? Which? Why?

Yes

4- How did you become a healer?

Was trained by a professional alpha

5- Is this your only profession? If so, are you declared to the authorities?

Yes, it is my only activity and it is informal.

6- Do you work alone in the healing process?

Yes.

7- Are you able to cure any ailments or are you a specialist in certain diseases?

Consulting spirits to determine cause + diagnosis

8- Have you been trained by a third party? If so, who and how did he learn?

A healer to which I was an apprentice

9- Do you make prescriptions of things to eat for in order to cure, etc...? If yes, give examples of prescriptions and the diseases to which they correspond.

Treatments, therapy

10-How do you make a diagnosis when you receive a patient?

Consultation

11-Does it happen that patients come to simply give you the diagnosis of the modern doctor? Do you consider it?

Yes it happens but I look at variables that the modern medicine ignore. I focus on what I know I am good at. My work is incompatible with the modern medicine.

12- Could you say why people go to you rather than to modern medicine?

Strong trust in deities, traditions and spirit, and definitely financial means

13- Have you ever had problems with clients, authorities, other healers, pharmacists or doctors? What order?

Never had any problems.

14- Do you often come to see you for problems with diabetes, high blood pressure, kidney failure, heart problems? If yes what remedies do you propose and what were the results?

Yes, I cannot tell how the healing process occurs

15- What is the cost of the consultation?

It is variable and depend on the degree of difficulty

16- How do you proceed? Payment before or after healing?

Half paid before consultation and half after.

17- What are the profiles of your clients? Sex, age, with / without profession, marital and family status.

No specific profiles. Young as older people come for all sorts of problems not only for health problems. But there are more women than men.

18- Are you regularly monitored by an organization? If yes which one?

No. There is no monitoring

19- Do you have testimonials on the benefits / misdeeds of the remedies that you propose to your patients?

Yes.

20- Are you still perceived by a large part of the population as a real alternative to modern medicine?

I continue to have a growing clientele.

21- In which parts of the country do we find the most healers, where are they most needed? North, center, south? Town or rural area?

Mostly in rural areas but there also are in cities.

interview

Questionnaire #5 – Semi-formal business – herbalist /spiritual healer

Age	Gender	Professional activity	Marital status	Household size	Ethnicity	Academic education	habitat	housing	Work location	Social Class
60	F	Spiritual healer/herbalist	widow	9	Yaka	N/A	Niamtougou - North	Own house, small rooms + 1 consultation room	Niamtougou (North)	Middle

1- How would you define the profession of healer?

I do consultation – herbs/ products/ lifestyle prescription – treatment of illness

2- What do you think of modern medicine?

It has good sides and I also address patients that I cannot treat or whose treatment is ineffective

3- Are there any foods that you advise your patients based on their illness? Which ones? Why?

Yes. I used plants, herbs, and other products but cannot provide more details

4- How did you become a healer?

Was trained by a healer from Bassar in the northern mountains

5- Is this your only profession? If so, are you declared to the authorities?

No, also a seller of millet and corn and the activity is not formal but for by healing activities I have a certificate which makes it semi-formal.

6- Do you work alone in the healing process?

Mainly yes but I also have apprentices

7- Are you able to cure any ailments or are you a specialist in certain diseases?

No. I am only effective in certain cases, I directly send patients to the modern medicine or when a health problem becomes critical.

I mainly treat certain health problems, as headaches, stomachaches, wounds, pains etc. Many of which may have spiritual causes. However I am not an Alpha who primarily work with spirits.

8- Have you been trained by a third party? If so, who and how did he learn?

A healer to which I was an apprentice

9- Do you make prescriptions of things to eat for in order to cure, etc...? If yes, give examples of prescriptions and the diseases to which they correspond.

Treatments, therapy

10-How do you make a diagnosis when you receive a patient?

Consultation and discussions

- 11-Does it happen that patients come to simply give you the diagnosis of the modern doctor? Do you consider it? Yes but if the case is beyond my potentials I send them back to the hospital. I even work with the hospital staffs at times
- 12-Could you say why people go to you rather than to modern medicine?
Religious belief, family habits and financial means
- 13-Have you ever had problems with clients, authorities, other healers, pharmacists or doctors? What order?
Yes when patients do not respect doses or when the prescription does not work, some patients have told me and I tried to fix the problem or address them to modern medicine.
- 14-Do you often come to see you for problems with diabetes, high blood pressure, kidney failure, heart problems? If yes what remedies do you propose and what were the results?
Yes but for those cases, I send them to the hospital. Many claim they can treat those because they have spiritual causes. But even so I only deal with the part that I can handle and address them to modern medicine professionals
- 15-What is the cost of the consultation?
It is variable and based on individuals' financial means
- 16-How do you proceed? Payment before or after healing?
After healing. I am obliged to. I was born with the gift that was not to abuse bu making it very lucrative. People give what they can after a treatment.
- 17-What are the profiles of your clients? Sex, age, with / without profession, marital and family status.
Everyone. Women bring their children. Women and men come for diverse biological problems also (sexual, pregnancy, etc.)
- 18-Are you regularly monitored by an organization? If yes which one?
No. I am not monitored
- 19-Do you have testimonials on the benefits / misdeeds of the remedies that you propose to your patients?
Yes. I am known in the whole village and beyond
- 20-Are you still perceived by a large part of the population as a real alternative to modern medicine?
Yes. I would think so given the continuous demands.
- 21-In which parts of the country do we find the most healers, where are they most needed? North, center, south?
Town or rural area?
Cannot tell with certainty but traditional beliefs are strong in the society and traditional healers probably exist in the entire country. People from all social backgrounds come for consultations. These include medical professionals, politicians, the wealthy and the rich. Everyone seeks physical and mental peace.

4.1.2.5.1 Findings from spiritual healers/ herbalists

The traditional healers' society generally does not condemn modern medicine, but thinks that some ills can only be treated mystically because most problems in Togo have a spiritual nature/cause. Typical foodstuffs are recommended depending on the health problems and on the family and professional environment and history. Participants say there are only positive returns and when treatment does not work another solution is found. Patients with diabetes, high blood pressure and heart problems are consulted differently. Each patient has a history taken and specific recommendations are made. Being a spiritual healer is an informal enterprise. The activity consists of consultations, herbs/ natural products prescription, the treatment of illness with products and spiritual recommendations. Some healers claim to cure all types of health problems including headaches, stomachaches, wounds, pains etc. Patients sometimes disclose their health history in clinics, but environmental root causes matter most in the healing processes where no curing procedures can be disclosed. Spiritualism is a private matter than can encompass delicate truths. Only the apprentice/assistant can sometimes attend consultations. People consult healers for financial and cultural reasons, family habits and a strong belief in metaphysics. Consultation prices vary with financial means. These services are mostly used by women. They consult for themselves, their husband and children. They have no problem with clients, authorities, other healers, pharmacists or doctors. They are highly respected by all demographic profiles. There are no controls as the spiritual sphere is untouchable and nobody can 'control god'. Of all the informal businesses in Togo, the ones that avoid most regulation are those in the spiritual realms. Without traditional beliefs people have no identity or meaning. The spirits are 'real', and people, including modern medical doctors materially witness strange things. When a person on whom a spell has been cast ends up with a living reptile in their stomach, it is 'fact', and even empiricists cannot explain or deny this. When one comes across something

unexplainable, beliefs prevail in terms of attempted explanations. Even scientific medical academics and professionals will first want to ensure that a health problem does not have mystical origins. Their metaphysical background and construction coexist with their scientific disposition, especially when tradition is sacred, thus unquestionable. Tradition in such cases is therefore a bank in which constructions of social relationships are deposited; a venerated altar to which one claims membership to in a community and benefit from. In appearance, rural areas seem more involved with the cultural heritages of spiritual powers, but, everywhere families observe deities including government officials, bankers, lawyers, physicians and even some Caucasian foreigners. The latter occasionally consult spiritual healers. Spiritual healing is a delicate matter and investigating it seen as improper.

4.1.2.6 Informal private business- street medication sellers

Lomé, 03.11.17, 08:06:06

recorded interview

Questionnaire #4 – Informal business – street medication seller

Age	Gender	Professional activity	Marital status	Size of Household	Ethnicity	Level of academic education	Area of habitat	Type of Accommodation	Work area (fixed or mobile?)	Social class
24	F		Married	7	South	Junior high	Lomé	Rent	fix	Low

- 1- How do you become a seller of medication? *I needed to make a living. I was told that selling drugs was good business*
- 2- Are you your own boss or an employee? *I am sole owner and sole member of my business but when I am off, my mom, niece can help replace me.*
- 3- What are the profiles of your customers? *Adults mainly. Older people and women mostly*
- 4- Is your business declared? *No. It is illegal to sell medicine without state authorization but many do it. Authorities are not after small retailers but after importers and big wholesalers.*
- 5- What are the main types of medicines that you sell and what are the most requested? *Medicine are mainly painkillers, boosters, for cases of flu, fever, sexual and skin problems, stomach discomforts. Some can be found in regular pharmacies (Efferalgan, paracetamol). Others are bosco, apct)*
- 6- How do you refill? *I am a retailer and my neighbor, a lady very active in the medicine business got me start. She is the one you gets me supply. I cannot say more.*
- 7- Do you learn about each medicine before the purchase or are you trained by a third party? If you have a trainer, by which is he trained? *I ask what the medicines' purposes are. There is no special training. My supplier tell what medicines can be used for*
- 8- Do you sell prescription drugs prescribed by doctors, tradi-practitioner, and healer?
It happens sometimes that people comes with a prescription and ask if we have a medicine available – people mostly ask for a medicine they usually buy or was recommended by someone else
- 9- On what basis the customers buy-they medicines? Do you make a diagnosis based on symptoms they describe? *People come and ask for specific medicine they have been used to buying on the street (mostly from Nigeria, Ghana, etc....)*
- 10- Can you say why it is address to you instead of physicians, pharmacists, healers,) *Financial reasons*
- 11- Have you already met with problems with the clients, the authorities, the healers, pharmacists or doctors? *No authorities are after big dealers not occasional ones with very little weekly goods. I do not stock up. I get supply that only hold a week.*
- 12- Do you regularly face to the requirements of food supplements? If yes to what types of profile? Are these drugs always available? *Yes I sell certain vitamins, energy boosters.*

- 13- These last few years have you noted an evolution in the demands products related to diabetes mellitus, chronic respiratory diseases, hypertension, renal failure, cardiac problems? There is demand but people usually come for inflammatory problems. They need painkillers and medicine for fatigue. I know some people sell other medicines but I do not. I only do this along with my consumable goods business.
- 14- Please give a few examples of prices on these drugs. Very relative but much cheaper than prescription drugs. 300 XOF – 1000XOF (0.50€-1.00€) for a painkiller that costs the triple in pharmacies.
- 15- Are you regularly monitored by a, institutional body? If yes, which one? No because it is illegal. But officers are not interested in small quantities.
- 16- Do you have any evidence on the benefits/harms of these drugs? Yes. Medications calm pains and reduce fatigue but most people keep using them because they cannot get off of them otherwise they lack vitality and pain comes back. So medicine eases pain but does not heal.
- 17- Are they really and still perceived by a significant part of the population as a true alternatives to conventional pharmacies? Yes definitely. It is a very lucrative business.
- 18- In what part of the country are they the most consumed? North, Center, South? City or rural area? I would say more in the north and poor areas as rurality because there are less control and people have less means and there are less pharmacies around.

4.1.2.6.1 Findings from street medication sellers

Unmonitored medicine sale is an illicit but lucrative occupation in Togo. As informal businesses observe no particular legal framework, both criminal and non-criminal activities aggregate under a single category. Street medication businesses are ‘easy money’. Individual vendors sell on markets quite openly, but big suppliers or importers remain unknown. Authorities are more interested in seizing big medication sources, not small retailers with only one week’s worth of supplies. Bribes paid to the authorities hinder the enforceability of the law. Without social protection from the state, people manage to provide for their family somehow. Women are the most active in such business in order to be able to assist their husband financially when it comes to supporting the family/household. Medicines are sold based on limited stocks and supply is renewed every week or two along with other products such as soap and canned food. When caught with only a few tablets, there is no reprimand as authorities are more interested in the source. Enforcing the law may in fact damage the economy as a large workforce depends on illicit

drug sale. Clients are low to middle class individuals and consult street medication sellers for financial reasons. However, the uneducated rich and those for whom such medicines have previously been effective continue buying them. Most rich clients are self-made people with a poor background. Women and the elderly are the most vulnerable. Medicines are mainly painkillers and 'relaxers/re-boosters'. Some can be found in formal pharmacies such as aspirin, paracetamol, but others made in Asia and other African countries like Nigeria and these are unknown to formal authorities. Some sell medicines that are supposedly "good" for patients suffering from diabetes and high blood pressure health problems. Vitamins are the main supplement, but the chemical contents are unknown, and the side effects are ignored as many vendors cannot even read. Consumers often become addicted. Clients ask for medicines based on relatives/friend recommendations, past experience, or prescriptions. The principal reason is financial. Prices are 3-10 times cheaper than in drugstores. Clients rarely link health troubles with street medicines, especially if their first experience seems satisfactory. When a medicine does not work, there is no recourse as parallel medicine is illegal. Criticism and denouncement are socially condemned and no one would risk their reputation to complain. The rural north may be more concerned due to fewer controls, poor populations and less pharmacies around. However, the traditional healers and herbalists are privileged in such areas. The amount of medicine fraud in the north and south cannot be certain.

4.1.3 Private Citizens: cross-cultural sample

This section summarizes the voice of non-institutionalized civilians. At the start of each interview, participants were asked to openly describe their personal dietary habits by preferably sharing and explaining their experiences and social conditions as well as the linkages between their social conditions and eating habits at the individual and household levels. Even though responses often deviated from the questions they were asked, participants provided more insights as to the realities that could have been undervalued or unthought-of while composing the interview questions. Information was provided based on the goal of the research and the fact that the researcher was a native. The profile details considered are: age, sex, profession, marital status, household size, ethnicity, level of education, area/type of habitat, work area, social class.

4.1.3.1 List of questions:

- 1- *What is your age?*
- 2- *Which region/cultural group are you from?*
- 3- *How and what do you feed yourself? (Do the foods you eat reflect your financial potentials, the cultural group you belong to or your family habits?)*
- 4- *Does the food you eat reflect your family or cultural group habits?*
- 5- *Are there special occasions to consume certain food types? Of what nature?*
- 6- *When do you eat during the day and what do you eat each time?*
- 7- *During the day, do you eat to satisfy a hunger? To meet nutritional requirements? By reflex? Other?*
- 8- *Do you question the health status (hygiene) and the nutritional intake of the food you eat? Do you take these elements into account in your purchasing decisions?*
- 9- *Have you ever purchased import foods? Of what nature?*
- 10- *What is the share of imported and regional foods in your diet? What is their origin?*
- 11- *Why do you eat what you eat (Quality, price, habits, taste, need, else...)?*
- 12- *What sum do you spend on average for these foods by month?*
- 13- *In your opinion, what is the share of the dishes prepared to consume purchased and that of the food that you cook at home?*
- 14- *Who cooks the meal at home? Is the same person in charge of grocery shopping?*
- 15- *How do you store perishables?*
- 16- *Based on the food type, which mode of preservation do you use?*
- 17- *Do you purchase a stock of food while grocery shopping or only buy when needed?*
- 18- *What modes of preparation do you use most? (Seasoning, grilling, frying, boiling...)*
- 19- *Which salt do you use and where does it come from?*
- 20- *What is the origin of the funds dedicated to food?*
- 21- *Given the means, what types of products would you consume the most?*
- 22- *Do you mostly eat alone or accompanied? With who?*
- 23- *How often is grocery shopped for and in which quantity?*
- 24- *Is your purchasing decision taken on the spot or planned ahead on a list?*
- 25- *Apart from you, how many people live in your household?*
- 26- *How many adults and how many children in the household?*
- 27- *How many times do you eat during the day?*
- 28- *How often, when and where do you eat food prepared outside?*
- 29- *In your opinion is the cost of food too high in Togo?*
- 30- *Have you changed your eating habits? If yes, what has changed and since when? Why?*
(Availability, cost, professional situation, family ...)
- 31- *Do you smoke? What is it that you smoke? How often a day?*
- 32- *What beverages do you consume? On what occasions?*
- 33- *Provide any additional details you judge valuable.*

4.1.3.2 Questionnaire answers from private citizens

Habitat	Baguida	Azidoadin (near Lomé)	Azidoagomé - Lomé	Agoe	Lomé	Yaka - Niamtougou	Yaka - Niamtougou	Lomé (capital city)
Estate(own /rent)	own house	family home	rent	own house	uncle's house	family house	one room rent	
work place	Cacaveli	Tokoin Lomé	Lomé	Lomé - Agoé	Lomé	Niamtougou	Lomé	
Social class	Middle	Middle				low	Low	
Questions								
	1 18-39	18-39	18-39	55-60	10-17	10-17	18-39	
	2 Ewe - South	Adja	Ewe - Tsévié	Ewe - kpallimé	yaka	yaka	yaka	Moba - North

	Interviewees							
	Participant #2	Participant #5	Participant #15	Participant #14	Participant #10	Participant #11	Participant #12	Participant #1
Age	37	34	29	55-60	17	15	23	18-39
sex	M	F	F	F	M	M	M	F
Profession	telecommunication technician	admin assistant	retailer (manufactured food - street medicine -)	ex retailer	high school student - 4th year	high school student - 2th year	driver	
single/married	Married	single	living a marital life	widow	single	single	single	single
household size	3		6	2	4	4	1	
Ethnic group	Ewe - south	Adja(Ewe)-South	Ewe- Tsévié	Ewe - kpallimé	yaka	yaka	yaka	Moba (north)
Academic education	university +2	university+2	senior high school - 2nd year	primary school	junior high school	junior high school	high school graduate	university +2

3	buy food and eat cooked rice	We eat local (fruits, vegetables, cereals) and imported (rice, canned goods)	Cornmeal with soups from north (being the mate of a north man and the capital has mixed behaviors now) and south: Soups are made of leaves as adémé/okra fry and fresh/baobab leaves/peanut / gnato/ small dried fish. Then full- rice and pasta	Cornmeal primarily with palm fruit sauce - adémé/ghoma/ patapa- cassava leaves - esserou (helps with stomachache) leaves- ghognamé- atokouma - South traditional soups	cornmeal, rice, couscous, attiéké, fruits	cornmeal (own grown corn with soups made of okra or other traditional leaves as baobab tree at home, gnato, etc. with dry fish or from fishing/ black eye peas and soja occasionally	cornmeal/sonio with soup of okra/ghoma/ sesame/ peanut - baobab seeds - leaves - dried and smoked fish + red palm oil / black eyed peas - ricemized black eyed peas with tomato and chili sauce	Open market
4	my wants	Family habits	No ntirely because living now in Lomé which has fixed behavior + husband is from the north	yes partially as we also eat couscous, pasta, fried yams or plantain occasionally whenever means allow it	partially + traditional food yes but some non-traditional	yes	Not really because I often eat outside on my break	No
5	in weddings or particular occasions outside I eat food that are in my habits	no	not really because I sell pasta and rice my kids like them better than the local cornmeal - so we often do those for kids mainly - eat more meat on festivities	we also eat couscous, pasta, fried yams or plantain occasionally whenever means allow it	Not specifically, but on festivities traditional food is less usual	mainly traditional cornmeal but on special occasions as festivities, eats rice, pasta on special occasions/ has been punished by not being served food	on festivities, eat more non-traditional food as pasta, couscous, fufu dough made of yam, etc. and meat	no
6	due to my job i do not have a fix time to eat. When possible i eat rice	Morning-noon-evening - Morning (porridge) noon (Main course, fruits)-evening (fruits)	morning and evening (habit)	morning - noon-evening	morning + noon+ evening	noon and evening	noon at work - (ready to eat food on side of the road) and evening	noon a bit of everything
7	hunger	To meet the nutritional needs of health	Hunger	hunger and must eat as she is on high blood pressure medicines	hunger, by reflex	hunger and time to eat	hunger	hunger
8	hygiene because i am afraid of typhoid fever, yes i take into accounts those elements	Yes valid for both questions	Does not necessarily question hygiene but like certain types of leaves for soup because they participate to health (ex. bobab leaves that have iron) even though it is a lot more work than adémé with its cultivated and	not really	Not really	no- wale + public fountain	not really	oui
9	yes frozen goods	Yes-fish, rice, canned products, oil, sugar	yes we consume imported food and non traditional food. but it is kids that mostly like those.	canned tomatoes, pays attention to the expiry date	yes	broth in cubes, rice and pasta but on very rare occasions of festivities with frozen fish from market	yes, canned tomatoes, sardines, milk, sugar	yes, olive oil, sardines in cans
10	- Food is generally bought at the big market and supermarkets, percentage of imported food is 60% and 40% regional	Imported food (fish rice oil sugar tomato)Regional foods (cereals fruits vegetables procured in our markets)	40% of imported and non local	20%	50%	98%	90%	40-60% at the open market

11	Habit and taste	need and quality	It is kids that mostly like non local food	to change from the routine can cook pasta. Price is detriming more than habit. Taste would go more toward food I do not often eat	mostly habit, taste	habit of cereals and traditional dishes because of low price	habits	habit, and need
12	- Between 60,000 francs and 80,000 francs per month		cannot tell precisely	cannot tell precisely	do not know what uncle spend		5000-6000/mois - eats evening at uncle's who is near	50000fcfa
13	Biscuits, appetizers, drinks for food to eat, rice, couscous, yams, spaghetti, beans ... for cooking.	manufactured good as sugar and fruits. Food cooked at home (cereals, fish)	95% home because food eaten outside is really cooked by her mom who sells it	25% some evenings buy fried yams outside	mostly eat at home because no personal revenue to buy outside		50% outside / 50% homecooked	20% and 80%
14	My wife yes she is in charge of shopping.		me	me	the lady in charge of cooking in the house	me after school and on week end for my dad brother and sister	does not often cook	yes self
15	fridge	self . Yes	no . Food is consumed immediately because there is no fridge and we do not have the means to but big quantities to stock	do not	fridge/ canned food that can be kept, frying	warms up food from eve - no fridge. Stock of corn grown in the family field	no	fridge
16	fridge	fridge	no preservation really beside smoking and frying fish	on need	fridge mainly	Buy based on immediate need for immediate consumption	no	fridge
17	I make my stock every month.	stock up	upon need	no stock as there is no mean to stock up	Most of food is stock (cereals) but still often go to market for yams which rotians fast even in a fridge		no	when needed
18	Frying and seasoning	Seasoning soup grilling frying cooking in water	boiling in water	frying food is more bought outside - at home it is more boiled	a lot of frying (fish+ meat+ soy cheese, ...) plantain, yams, sauces, boiling for traditional soup which now have oil too	roast fish, boiling.		boiled
19	Yes salt from the supermarket.	Yes salt comes from neighboring countries	from someone who comes from ghana	yes but try not to consume too much due to high blood pressure problem	yes	yes, bought on open market		yes market
20	from work	monthly salary	me + husband who works	rent from tenants living in the smae courtyard	uncle's revenue	dad	uncle's salary	salary

21	still rice	If we have the choice we consume nothing but local and natural products	it would be traditional meals but enriched and in great quantity - more chicken and other meats	fufru- rice	means exist so eat a lot of what we want but if i had more money i would myself buy things whenever and not be rationned	couscous, rice, pasta, milk, fruits as oranges which are expensive - cheese - chocolate , etc.	morning pudding- pasta- fried food- mayo- eggs- more meat - bread	organic
22	with my wife and littel boy	We often eat in a family of 5	alone		alone	with my brother and sister	alone	2
23	once a month	weekly	every week		every day	once a week in the village market - onion- broth cube / salt/ okra in dry season because in the rainy season we have them fresh from the field		every weekend
24	We have a forecast type for each one can add other things but it is always constant for the month.	shopping list	list	2	both	short list for vegetables in the dry season		list
25	My wife and child	4	5	1	3	3		0
26	one child	3 children and 3 adults	4 children (2 of my kids and husband's niece) + me and my husband	me and daughter	3 adult and me	1 adult (handicaped) + 3 children		1 0, 2
27	at least twice	3 times	2 for me and husband (left overs in morning) and kids	3	3	2	Morning pudding- noon - evening 3x	3x
28	yes when I am at work	We eat food prepare outside occasionally when at work	yes sometimes at my mom's who sells	sometimes	no	non	yes everyday at lunch break	rarely
29	Not too high but high compared to five or ten years ago	cost of food and means depending on our living standards	It is not too expensive to acquire the basic even though prices are going up	yes	yes more in the south than it was in the north where I came from 2 years ago	cheaper compared to big towns-	No but expensive compared to the village	Not so much
30	No		no	no	yes since i moved to the capital city to my uncle's house after my dad passed away.	yes since i came to my uncle's in teh capital city a year ago. Eat more fried food, meat, etc.	eats more outside since started working	No

31	no	NO	no	no	no	no	no	No
32	Yes but not on occasions	we drink sweet drinks	sweet drinks occasionally	sweet drinks very rarely. Means are not always there for that	drinks traditional or modern beer and sweet drinks occasionally. Traditional more in the north very often and sweet more in the south occasionally on special occasions as festivities	drinks traditional beer since childhood. likes sweet drinks in bottle but not affordable	local beer on Saturdays and beer once or twice a week	yes when i feel like it
		remarks: Most of what we eat is both organic and chemical but we consume them in spite of it because we have no choice. Many products are not manufactured locally either.				father often went outside and drank a lot. Did not eat much. He often went to pick up father that had passed out from drinking. People in the village think alcohol caused his death		

		With regard to foods already prepared outside there is a 70% risk of consumption because street vendors only seek to get the cheapest food possible more often even if they know it means products are outdated or spoiled and there is no hygiene						
--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

Participant #3	Participant #4	Participant #5	Participant #7	Participant #15	Participant #9	Participant #8	Participant #13
25	24	20	18	35	47	50	<60
M	M	F	F	M	M	M	F
Network Administrator	engineer	university student	university student	shoemaker	retired from the military	weaver	used to sell onions
single	single	single	single	living a marital life	married	Married - traditional	married
5 small		4	4	6	7	7 + 3 kids left in the village	12
Tchamba - North	Kabye - north	Yaka - north	Yaka - north	Moba - Dapaong	Lamba	Lamba	kotokoli
Middle	Master level- engineering	university +2	university +1	4th year of junior high	high school	preschool	

Capital city	Lomé	Lomé	Lomé	Adidougomé - Lomé	Lomé	Lomé	Sokode
	one room rent	family house	family house	rent	own house	Rent 10m2	husband' shouse
Cacaveli	Lomé	Lomé	Lomé	Lomé	Lomé		Lomé - Agoé
Middle	Middle				Middle		Low
18-39		20	18	18-40	40-64	40-64	40-64
Tchamba - north	tradit- modern - kabye - north	yaka	yaka	Moba- Dapaong (North)	Lamba-Iosso	Lamba	Kotokoli

	I eat local dishes and sometimes foreign dishes. Most of these dishes are bought and rarely cooked at home.	corn dough mainly with fresh or dried okra sauce + cooked ademe leaves + traditional fresh okra sauce mixed with beans with smoked fish + palms nuts sauce + sesame with dry okra. Rice and pasta occasionally. Smoked fish mainly and occasionally chicken and beef.	cornmeal mainly with fresh or dried okra sauce + cooked ademe leaves + peanut sauce + yovo ghoma leaves + traditional dishes are more cooked fresh okra + baobab leaves + yota leaves- sauce mixed with beans with smoked fish + palms nuts sauce + sesame with dry okra. Rice and pasta occasionally. Smoked fish mainly and occasionally chicken and beef with yam, fufu, rice, pasta, couscous on sundays or on festivities. Crabs occasionally	Cornmeal with soups from both north and south (in couple with a person from the south): Soups are made of leaves as ademe/okra fry and fresh/baobab leaves/casame/peanut / black eyed peas leaves/ tomato sauce gnato/ small dried fish. Then fufu- rice -pasta- fried yams, rice, fried fish	cornmeal/ black eye peas and soja occasionally	traditional from north (cornmeal with seasoned boiled leaves)+ corn used to make flour comes from the village	cornmeal with okra dry and fresh - gnato , baobab leaves - rice mixed with black eyes peas occasionally
yes +yes	These foods are a lot more reflective of what is available in the market today.		recipes reflect more ethnic group of origin.	family habit most but eat different types of food now	ethnic soups with baobab leaves and okra, baobab fruit coods, fish	yes	Mostly yes- but sometimes eats south dishes because the now live in the south
	Yes. When we meet with family it is the opportunity to consume the ethnic recipes.		chicken and beef with yam fufu, rice, pasta, couscous on sundays or on festivities.	not really	cornmeal mainly Monday thru Friday/ black eye peas and soja occasionally and weekend rice and pasta occasionally	cornmeal everyday and rice on holidays	yes on special occasion we do rice and pasta to change from usual cornmeal
Preference for Rice Consumption	In the morning (tea or porridge), At noon or at break time if you have some (rice or dough) and in the evening (rice, pasta or a dish bought outside ...).		morning + noon+ evening- (in the afternoon orange or lemon juice)	morning and evening (habit)	morning eats leftover from eve and does not eat anything until the evening	twice/day	morning sometimes - noon- evening
To move, to have a correct health, to think and to act physically and intellectually throughout the day	To appease a hunger and for pleasure of time.	hunger	hunger	feeling of Hunger	morning and evening / to avoid day hunger and habit	hunger	hunger (time to eat)
YES, The amount of palm oil and sugar in the diet		No	No	not really	in a way yes not really but do not buy for financial means provided that he has a large family	no	Do not have the means to buy ready to eat food outside.
Yes, cereals, rice, jams, dairy products, juice		canned tomato and sardines	canned tomato, milk and sardines	yes - frozen fish from europe but canned goods as tomatoes, sardines and milk from holland apparently	yes, canned food as sardines, one brand of sugar because many imported sugar powder are mixed with chemicals that makes it taste overly and strangely sweet. Not oil because buy it from neighbor who makes it naturally with casame	no - no means and very occasionally for soup that accompanies rice	yes canned tomatoes only sometimes in soup to eat rice mixed with black eyed peas
Share of imported foods: 20%. Regional: 80%	the share of imported food is greater or smaller, but that of regional food is the majority. At the roadside at the resellers, in the small restaurant and at home	imports 20%	20% from groceries	50% of imported and non local	Most of the time local goods are consumed because even the rice bought is Togolese	2%of import and the rest local mainly because in village and in town since only a few months	15-10% of imported goods and the rest local

taste	First of necessity because we are hungry and then by habits and also by availability. But quality-price not too much ...	price- if more means would buy more imported foods	habits if means would eat more meat as chicken or beef, fried yams	price	habits, taste, need	price, habits, taste	because of price 1 habit2 and taste 3
undefined	Not less than 60000F	12000-15000/mois	20000cfh		about 70000 cfa for dried corn used for cornmeal. It is ordered in the north and stocked for the full year. Has a small piece of land in the north, cultivator who rents it also gives sometimes yams and corn harvested.	5000cfh	30000 (only an approximate)
30% ready to eat and 70% cook at home	The ready-to-eat dishes are the majority (80 or even 90 percent) the rest of the 10 to 20 percent for that cooked	corn made of sour corn + tomato sauce and fried fish		5% about 60000 cfa	mainly at home	100% cooked at home- cannot afford food from outside	15% bought outside home
Mom assisted by the cleaning lady	Me or my brothers, yes	me or my sister or my mom but not our brother the most often does	me or my sister or my mom - the mom often does	50/50	wife + children and nieces but wife buys the goods	my two wives, each is in charge of cooking one month	every month me or my husband's other wife and our children cook
fridge	At room temperature	no conservation because bought on need and used right away.	no conservation generally except for concentrated tomato on which oil and salt are applied.	my wife	fresh goods are consumed immediately whereas as there is a stock of dried goods as corn.	no. No perishable stored	no. No perishable stored. Food bought is for immediate use. No means to buy big quantities to stock for harsher times
Proper preservation mode avoiding the process of food degradation	there is not really a way for that		None	no preservation really beside smoking and frying fish	Mainly corn which is sorted out and often dried over to ensure it does not rotton	None	no
stock up	the stock is almost non-existent except for some commodities (rice, beans, tuber and spices), the rest is bought as needed	no -	upon need	upon need and based on what i earn from my job as i do not have clients all the time	stock of corn available as well as dry black eye peas that wife sells. Also has dried fish that can hold for a long period of time. Food that remains is warmed up the next morning and eaten. There is also frying that serve in teh preservation of fish.		no
The mode depends on the food to be prepared	cooking by boiling with water	frying meat and yams- boiled food	boiled leaves or cornmeal and fried food as meat, yams,	boiling mostly	roasted peanut, peas, yam, fried yams sometimes, fried fish and meat, but mostly boiling of leaves for soup that accompanies cornmeal	boiled	boiled soup
Yes, White Market Salt	yes, from the neighborhood market	oui	oui	market i guess but wife grocery shops	a little but salt is made available for those who want to add it to their dish	yes	yes
	Mom's salary or my own salary	tenant money + brother's assistance	tenant money (4) in the same courtyard	me and wife who sells few imported food	husband's retirement money and part time job as well as wife's little commerce	myself and two wives cooks and sell local beer and the second sells cornmeal	rent from tenants in the house and some spices she sells in front of the house but just to keep busy

vegetarian	cereal-based products (sorghum millet corn bean soda ...), vegetables, fruits, fish, cheese and poultry	ready to eat food - milk - bread - eggs - meat - sausage	salad - milk- chicken or beef kebab	It would be traditional meals but enriched and in great quantity - more chicken and other meats		traditional from north (cornmeal with seasoned boiled leaves)	more rice, pasta, meat
with family - 4 people	Alone for the most part and often with my brothers. We live together	3+ me, my sister and my mother - dad passed away	3+ me, my sister and my mother - dad passed away	alone	alone	alone	alone
weekly and in sufficient quantity	Randomly or rather as needed		once/week	every week	when needed for soup for instance provided that the main meal is cornmeal wich hse is stocked	randomly dependg on immediate need	based on immediate need
Elle sait souvent une liste d'achat et va toujours à un lieu précis	We make a shopping list	shopping list	shopping list	list	list	list	list
4 people	2	4	4	5	6 + 1 the oldest child no longer in the household- employed in the military) so met- wife+ son + daughter + niece and wife's niece	6	11

No	No. Not at all	NO	No	no	no	no	no
No for alcoholic drinks and yes for sweet drinks	Yes, when I go out with friends or sometimes at home during the festivities	local beer - sweet drinks occasionally but if we had the means it would me more often	local beer	sweet drinks occasionally	drink traditional beer as well as sweet drinks only occasionally. Would not buy them often as he has a large family to take care of.	no due to traditional beliefs related to me particularly	no alcohol for religious reason (muslim)- sweet drinks only on very special occasions
					Some drink traditional beer all day long and do not bother about food		

3 adults and 2 children	2 adults	4	5 children (2 of my kids and husband's niece) + me and my husband	2 adults and 4 children	4 children and 3 adults	12 (husband+ second husband's wife+ my two grands kids + other wife's 3 kids and niece
3 times	3 times but not necessarily at home	Noon and evening	3 times	2	2 4 times	3x
YES. Every afternoon that I'm away from home	Yes very often	No. not often	occasionally	often	no	no
Average cost compared to other countries	Not really it's average but we do not want the increase of this cost either	It is ok	It is ok	ok but getting more and more expensive	expensive compared to few years back especially due to foreigners who are always up to pay without negotiating (ex. people from benin, etc.)	the corn used to cook the daily meal is from my little farm land where there is a corn plantation
yes , availability	yes, I eat much more outside, professional situation (for lack of availability and especially for laziness)	No	yes= rice that brother brings from work (he is a soldier)	no	no	no

4.1.3.3 Findings from civilians' interview

According to the panel of interviewees:

Eating habits as reflections of market supplies and price.

In Togo supply drives demand. People primarily buy based on market availability and affordability. Amongst that which is available and affordable they choose what is closest to what are seen as 'normal' dietary habits.

Shifting trends in the ways of cultures

The inducement of new imported foodstuffs and the mounting economic transformation of Togolese society has made certain food types less popular than before. Some regional traditional meals have now lost value. However, the prohibition of certain foods based on religious/sacred convictions are communicated among generations. Most bans impact on

the weak such as females and children. In terms of the elderly, who are pillars of society, traditions/rules witnesses/keepers are seldom banned not applicable to the entire community. Their position accounts for their immunity, and this applies in particular to men. Imports arrive at harbors in the south where many became part of the southern diet. Most of the population abide by diets through habit and accumulated familiarity. Participants say their food habits are historically and culturally charged. Those mainly consuming local food because of financial limitations during childhood have made such meals a preferred dish. Financial conditions therefore also guide food preferences for each age group of the same ethnic group. Family dynamics participate in people's deep attachment to food in relation to childhood memories / experiences / the trends of an era. The attachment to specific foods is stronger amongst northerners than southerners due to greater exposure in the south to foreign foodstuffs introduced by Portuguese slave traders/crusaders. Returning slaves from Brazil also introduced different recipes in the south. Today, non-African foodstuffs can reach the north by roadways. Nevertheless, in the north, they remain expensive because of the additional transport costs associated with moving goods from the south to the north. Colonial heritage and modern media participate in the perception of imported foodstuff as superior, but the elderly are more reserved about this. Both southern and northern young adults can also crave childhood meals with a high concentration of local products if mostly consumed during childhood.

Daily eating profile: Socio-economic and environmental factors surpass cultural variants

On average, food is consumed at least twice daily: at noon when home-cooked food is consumed, and in the evening. Those that skip lunch as a consequence of having too little time tend to eat in the morning and in the evening. On working days, lunch increasingly taking place at work when the cost of returning home in urban areas is too high. Lunch is bought rather than brought from home as food-heating solutions lack. Those in the north

with most rural areas tend to eat twice per day, especially during the long dry season when it is too hot to eat. The 6 months of hot weather in the north discourages daytime meals. In most rural areas, people eat in the evening and have leftovers for breakfast the next morning. In the south they eat three times per day unless they are limited by finances or workplace contact requirements. Most food is consumed at home. Many say dining out is reserved for tourists, young couples, and business employees. Some have an early brunch of a liquid soft drink or a cereal pudding with doughnuts bought on the way to work or prepared at home.

Reasons for eating

To simplify, most interviewees say they eat because they are hungry. When asked to develop “hungry”, the question appeared irrational/absurd. Some say they eat sometimes because they have to take some medicine that requires eating first. Many say they do not observe structured mealtimes and fit eating around job requirements. Nutritive requirements were never mentioned.

Personal assessment of quality

Those who are hygiene-conscious or who have suffered certain illnesses relating to hygiene usually ask vendors about the conditions in which food has been cooked. If the explanation is acceptable, people will buy this food.

Convenience, affordability and taste more so than hygiene or nutritional functionalities determine ready-to-eat- meal consumption. Traditionally, young adults eat out the most, but with changes to the appearance of new professional profiles, eating out is also preferred by middle-age people. Dining out is a behavior most notable amongst those that can afford it. Food is no longer just a basic need, but a social statement. Obesity has for a long time been a sign of wealth. In the discussion it was understood that thinness was for

long associated with AIDS symptoms or poverty. Such perceptions are however changing with more exposure to western media and body consciousness. Nevertheless, curvier and bigger shapes remain an asset in the cultural collective mindset.

Among the poorer households, many perceive of food as a concern of the rich. Thus, many interview questions did not make sense to some interviewees who viewed food as 'fuel' only. Women, the principal cooks in the culture simply seek to satisfy their husbands for by fear of being replaced. The medical advice on the moderate use of certain ingredients (e.g. oil, salt, etc.) is disregarded.

Occasionally, specific foods are consumed for their nutrients. Certain indigenous leaves help with anemia cases. For example, baobab leaves rich in iron are mostly consumed in the north and do not depend on a mild climate. In the north, several wild vegetables have been integrated into diets. Food cultivation practices/ technologies in the south was also introduced by Europeans traders/ colonial powers, missionaries, etc.

The decision maker

Today, all classes, ages and ethnic groups purchase imported food consistent with their means and food preferences. The more means that imported food consumers have at their disposal, the more imported foodstuffs they eat as part of their diet regardless of the health implications. The poor consume imported foods only on special occasions. Their scarcity in the daily diets of poor households makes them all the more valued. Occasionally, canned tomato paste is consumed over several days and stored with oil/salt. Spoilage such as mold is simply removed and the rest is consumed. Meat, in some cases that is leftover can be regularly grilled over charcoal fires and is used sparingly to accompany future meals. The Togolese consume imported goods from African countries, wheat from the US, and rice from Asia. The types, quantity and frequency of consumption vary and primarily depend on financial status and preferences. As head of the house, the male's preferences dominate

food choices for the entire households unless financial restrictions prohibit this. Imports consist of manufactured goods such as oil, sugar, canned goods and meat and these are not always controlled. Such produce in the south is sold in and around the capital and the rest is dispatched across the country. Ground routes are ideal for the illegal trafficking of food and medication because corruption is less prevalent than in seaports.

Ratio of local vs imports in diet

Inaccessibility to imported foodstuffs for financial reasons leads to hazardous practices such as the purchase of degraded quality meats which can carry bacteria, and the use of expired foods. In contrast with the poor, the rich can store food such as dry corn and rice for a full year. The rich often own cultivated pieces of land in rural areas and can afford a fridge/freezer/electricity to store meat, vegetables and fruits. In times of food shortages or sudden climatic hazards, the poor struggle to stock up. Poorer households purchase based on the immediacy of needs. Those in rural areas can easily access food, particularly when it is in season. Those in southern cities, towns and villages with limited production means often suffer from malnourishment. For northerners fruits, imported meat and fresh fish are luxuries.

Determinants of food choices

Factors range in importance when it comes to purchasing meal/ingredients. These factors include taste, hunger and affordability for the rich. For middle social class individuals the variables are hunger, finances and taste. For the poor they are finances, hunger, and taste. Most northerners limit themselves to living within their means.

Cooking methods

Identified cooking methods include grilling over charcoal fires in terms of corn, tubers, plantains, nuts and oleaginous fruits. Boiling and steaming is preferred when it comes to thick cereal and porridges, as well as tuber that is served with soup and meat, depending on financial capacity. Frying is typical of the middle classes and rich households who have easier access to oils.

Salt, main seasoning of the poor

Salt bought at open air markets is imported from the neighboring country of Ghana. In the north, salt has become the main flavor enhancer replacing potash, an ancient traditional mineral found in pulverized rock powders and alkaline potassium compounds. Imported flavor enhancers are more expensive and are therefore consumed by the rich. The main seasoning for the poor is salt. Non-iodized salt remains on Togolese markets and causes several deficiencies as Goiter according to literature. Goiter is an endemic that affects one adult in five. Without controls at the borders, non-iodized salt has become almost non-existent despite efforts to smuggle salt. During interviews, none of the participants demonstrated any knowledge of the consequences of consuming non-iodized salt which can create health complications.

Origin of food funds

Funds allocated to food either emanate from monthly salaries or revenues from various occasional or fixed activities such as tailoring, hairdressing, shoe-making, taxi driving and motorbike taxiing. Some families live on rent money from tenants living in the same compound. Land and housing are critical matters. Owners rent rooms used for business or living. Elders, widows/widowers can rent part of their house for income as their children have left home. Many from private informal business do not have retirement incomes.

The cost of food

The cost of living is perceived locally as rapidly increasing as wages continue to stagnate. With the degradation of the quality of soils, a rural exodus of human resource, and no subsidies in terms of technical and material investments, cultivators have no means to mass-produce. As such, even local food is becoming increasingly expensive for the average salary.

Other consumption products

Imported hard alcohol is consumed by those who can afford it. Traditional 'hard' alcohol made out of palm trees is consumed in rural areas and in certain zones of the city. Today, the recipe for this product has been corrupted to maximize profits and affordability to consumers. Some interviewees reported that many use rusted metal in recipes and this has an addictive property. Local beer is a tradition and is famous amongst northerners and some southerners. In the south, behaviors are becoming increasingly standardized. Manufactured, soft bottled drinks are popular but these are only bought occasionally since they are expensive. Even rich households say they buy this type of product only occasionally.

Unexpected data

In Togo, when it comes to food, people have taught themselves to live hand to mouth and are content as long as they have something to eat. They buy what is within their means. As long as there is food, they can survive and there is less emphasis on eating for pleasure. Fast food is primarily consumed for convenience since it is cheap, and accessible. Perceptions of food continue to undermine nutritional concerns and there is more value attached to real estate and clothing.

Consuming local beer is part of tradition and is considered by some to be ‘food’. Alcohol, and particularly millet beer is increasingly abused and alcoholism is on the rise, whilst metal contamination in beer continues to cause many deaths.

4.2 Synthesis of findings

Local dietary trends, modes of food acquisition, accessibility to balanced meals, and deficiencies identified through the research support the need to review the country’s specific food system/mechanisms. There is a need to determine the socio-economic segments which are necessary to support and enhance local agricultural growth/diversification and accessibility to nutritious and safe foods.

4.2.1 Morning food

In the capital city and southern zones of Togo, the most important meal is lunch. However, the importance of evening meals is growing with the appearance of new professional profiles. Experiences of varying culinary practices suggest that societies eat at different times of the day and this behavior has evolved over the course of history (Spence, 2017).

Employees take shorter breaks and it is expensive to return home to eat. The most important meal in Togo is lunch or dinner. Yet, the saying “Eat breakfast like a king, lunch like a prince and dinner like a pauper” introduced by the popular but controversial nutritionist Adelle David (1904-1974) has resonance in today’s society²⁸⁴.

In the morning, cereal porridge and/or fried doughnuts are consumed. These can present high contents of salt or sugar depending on the recipe. Only a few people that cannot have lunch eat a fuller meal for breakfast. In the hotter climatic regions of the north, most meals are consumed in the morning and in the evening. Elsewhere, morning meals are

²⁸⁴ Growing scientific evidence demonstrates that breakfast is an important meal. Hence its nutrients contents are necessary to children’s growth. Scientific progress suggests that breakfast is necessary to optimize intake for mental and physical wellbeing. In fact studies even showed disease risks per gender (Cahill et al. (2013), McFarlin et al., 2016).

often leftovers or fresh-cooked, or bought by children during school recess around 9h30. Broadly, meals in Togo are starch-rich staple as cereals maize, rice, tubers with very little or no fruits and animal-source content²⁸⁵.

Studies showed that such diet is bulky with low density of energy, nutrients, a low bioavailability of minerals, and will result in impaired growth, development and host defense to infections (Michaelson et al, 2009:s344). It is alarming as research findings revealed that meals sold lack sanitary controls and present food has high content of salt or sugar depending on the recipe. Moreover the staples undergo extensive milling which reduce energy density while adding sugar to food reduces the nutrient density, as it provides no vitamins and minerals (ibid.s394).

Infants and young children are said to be more vulnerable to malnutrition because they have a high growth velocity and also high energy and nutrient needs (ibid.). Indeed, epidemiological research suggests that failing to eat a well-balanced breakfast can seriously damage health and mental health including cognitive performance (Spence, 2017). The academic performance of school-aged children can therefore be negatively impacted²⁸⁶.

The lack of balanced-food in Togo in terms of energy density and macronutrient content especially in breakfast for children suggests the need for further investigations on nutritional deficiencies when addressing the Togolese dietary patterns.

²⁸⁵ This excludes some wealthy households. Animal source-food as milk, egg and meat are culturally acceptable but expensive. This also explains the rich plant-based diets in middle and low-income environments, the later mostly concentrated in the north. The south indeed has better access to fish as it is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean.

²⁸⁶ Academic performance has long been the focus of much of the research in this area (see for example Mahoney et al., 1998; Murphy et al., 1998; Wesnes et al., 2003). The argument is that improving cognitive performance may be especially important amongst school aged children (Spencer, 2017; Adolpus et al., 2013; and Pollitt and Mathews, 1988)."

4.2.2 Lunch in the largely urbanized south including the capital city Lomé

Low paid employees frequently eat lunch away from home when the distance between home and the workplace is too far. This does not apply to informal businesses and to entrepreneurs who work from home. Such private small business owners lunch at home, purchase something on the roadside, or eat what they sell. Outdoor, open air market vendors, more often than not, eat on the spot in accordance with their food budget and preferences. It was observed that, in the capital city and surrounding southern regions what people eat and how they eat depends on their financial means market availability. Ethnicity is decreasingly a variable in this sense. By and large, popular meals are prepared at home with an emphasis on quantity and preference. In the south, ready-to-eat meals are prepared from local and imported foodstuffs and both northern and southern foodstuffs. Indeed urban areas are rich in ethnic mix. The migratory flows of northerners towards the capital city in the south are increasing. Furthermore, habits have clearly been standardized due to the melting pot of populaces coming, not only from all Togolese regions, but also from the neighboring sub-Saharan African countries such as Benin, Ghana and Nigeria. The capital city's commercial harbors and imported consumables including foodstuffs make the southern regions more appealing to youth migrants.

Lomé's attractiveness and dietary profile in brief: Lomé (capital city edged by the Atlantic Ocean) and its neighboring localities have more diversified eating patterns. The socio-economic mechanisms/dynamics are locally perceived as more "westernized" (main postcolonial administrative, economic and political headquarters). Lomé is a crossroad where all Togolese as well as foreign populations converge for various reasons. The low central regions benefits from their proximity to the southern regions and partial administrative representations (Sokodé). Companies' subsidiaries are also present in the center with some minor representations in northern towns whereas headquarters are located in Lomé. Noticeably, the north prominent with various customary habits is nonetheless exposed to comparative natural conditions despite growing climatic inconveniences when moving toward the arid Saharan nations neighboring Togo to the north. So northern communities are no longer known in the national collective thinking as 'communities of the north' but instead are referred to as the 'northern populations'. It is uncommon for southerners to voluntarily move north. Moving from south to north may concern northern groups, professional assignments (e.g. military training camps and schools). As new residing entrants are scarce northern fiercer zones, new behaviors are less likely to enter, survive, and thrive. Proudly nurtured from one generation to the next, traditions remain protected against any disruptive way of thinking/reasoning or acting. Conversely, the south is more multiethnic as it draws individuals from all ethnic groups as well as foreigners for various reasons (administrative, academic, medical, etc.). The south's more commercial environment witnesses an astonishing multiplicity of professional profiles (informal/formal, semi-formal). On the national scale, contingent upon the size and level of rurality of towns, the quantity of every single such profile shift from moderate existence to none. Indeed the smaller the locality the less likely professions as cab drivers, etc. Categorically, Lomé, encompasses the higher number of professional profiles. Oppositely, northern urban areas have some administrative representation/subsidiaries (except Kara which also has a small airport, universities, etc.) but substantially lesser than the south and smaller in size, much less commercially lively, less financially grown, less populous, and delimited by more rustic zones.

In the north, arid countries next to the Sahel desert are less attractive. Imported foodstuffs have become a part of southern culinary culture as the south is located by the Atlantic Ocean, a primary import route. Lunch is consumed at home by some, or simply bought from roadside vendors. Improvised roadside businesses are widespread. Purchased meals are rich in imported foodstuffs such as canned/processed foods, and local contents are cheap to buy from markets.

Quality fresh local products have become unaffordable for the average citizen due to low agricultural productivity. Production systems reflect farmers' personal technical and financial capabilities. The lack of technological infrastructure or modern expertise (e.g. mechanized farming) and overdependence on the weather and seasonality in particular encourages import dependence. Soil degradation due to outdated excessive farming practices and climatic conditions is no longer stable as a consequence of recent floods and drought. This has resulted in unsystematic, scattered, and marginal harvest volumes which cannot meet the growing national demand. To illustrate, in 2016, Switzerland with a land mass of 41,285 km² and a population of 8.3million people consumed 15 times as much fertilizer per hectare as Togo (56,785 km², 7, 6 million people). Togo has 12 times more agricultural labor force. However Switzerland is ahead by using 4,000 more agricultural machines on arable areas than Togo, and produced 6 times as much cereal per hectare, consequently 32 times of value added per agricultural worker²⁸⁷ (Ntagungira, 2016). That is, a kilo of cereal produced in Togo is valued five times more when produced in Switzerland due to product quality, compliance with norms, standards and market vicissitudes (ibid).

Ongoing price decreases in international markets are causing the wide scale importation of food namely from Asia, France and Nigeria across the country. The unattractiveness and undervaluation of agricultural work and local products encouraged by low

²⁸⁷ The annual value added per agricultural worker is about US \$32,000 in Switzerland and US \$996 in Togo (Ntagungira, 2016).

investments in food crops has caused urban migration on a massive scale. The decrease in agricultural workers while the population continues to grow compromises the sustainability of current food systems. Consuming ready-meals as a response to the financial constraints associated with returning home to eat has become a habit and is the preferred mode of eating amongst the young in poor and middle class households. Disparate lunch behaviors distinguish the financially stable and unstable. Transport options include personal car/motorbike, taxis and mini-buses. Public transport is a recent addition to Togo. In past years, bus lanes have been introduced in the capital city. Created in 2005, the Transport Company Sotral, the sole urban public transport company began to provide a regular urban bus service in the Togolese capital. Following its creation in 2005, it went through various experimental stages before becoming effective some years ago. The project was initiated by the government to meet the mobility needs of the population of the capital city of Lomé. As such, its pricing is cheap in comparison to fares in the artisanal transport sector comprising of city taxis, motorcycle taxis and minibuses. The study revealed that most of those that consume food at roadsides tend to belong to low to middle socioeconomic classes. These classes comprise of students, apprentices, teenagers and children who are given allowances. Thus, in the moderately developed regions of the south, individual financial realities dictate and cultivate lunch preferences more so than ethnic/cultural habits. Overall, in the highly active economic zones, eating behaviors are often shaped by economic and professional life at the individual level. The catalyzing factors are the type of occupation or job position and distance from home both within the context of socioeconomic class. Seniors who, during childhood, ate imported foodstuffs now embrace local products in their diets. These participants return home to eat a home-cooked meal made from local products. Lunch at home is cooked according to the preference of the main provider who shapes the eating habits of the household. For example, if the provider does not return home for lunch, it may be decided that lunch will

not be cooked. Everyone should then find a lunch solution or await an evening meal. When in the household, the mother has a lucrative activity outdoor and cannot return home to cook lunch, with the consent of the husband, the husband in that case eats outside of the home and so do the children.

4.2.3 Lunch in rural and northern regions

In rural zones surrounded by agricultural activity, collective living and shorter distances between the workplace and home mean that home lunches are organized around the head of the household. The north consumes mostly local produce to a greater degree than in the south. Rural areas have a concentration of agricultural land so local products are easier/cheaper to access than imports. As such, home-cooked meals in the north contain a higher share of local crops. Despite the unique urban set up of Lomé' and surrounding southern localities, demand for local foodstuffs remains most keenly felt at a national level as milled corn porridge served with soup continues to be the staple food in most Togolese households. However, demand for local food in the south, their consumption is more moderate than in the north's rurality.

In terms of the north, food is mostly home-cooked and is comprised of crops from local family farms. Northern regions see more agricultural production and their commercial zones are smaller than those in southern cities. As localities are smaller, home is rarely far from work. Office workers tend to return home for lunch or buy street food for convenience. Intensive laborers and manual workers with shorter breaks tend to buy their lunch. Informal street vendors and market vendors also eat on the spot, while those close to home consume home-cooked meals. Agricultural workers eat at home or directly in the fields and may drink local beer in cans brought from home.

Some children eat lunch at home close to school. For breakfast, some eat leftovers from the previous evening. In the evening, housewives and/or their home help staff or foster

relatives cook dinner. Most of the food that is cooked is local and procured from produce harvested from the surrounding agricultural environments. Ready-to-eat meals account for some 75% of local and 25% of imported foods. In the evening, local food in low and middle-income households is important while imports are consumed occasionally and represent some 5 to 10%. However richer households tend to consume between 20% and 30% of imports such as wheat bread. In the north, fruits such as mangoes are abundant mostly during the rainy season. Only the rich can afford to buy fruit produced and transported from the south during the northern dry season. The dependence on such foods is a consequence of seasonality and this severely impacts on the consumption of fruits, particularly in arid zones.

Broadly, northerners' diets are less diluted with imports in contrast to southerners' diets. Thus, the eating patterns of cultural groups reflect their historical and physical terroirs. In the north, more so than in the south, individuals rely on respect nature's goodwill and destiny instead of manipulating natural orders to increase productivity. Traditionally, such reasoning is dominant, yet perceptions are changing.

4.2.4 Evening food

The collected data shows that most evening meals in Togolese households are home-cooked. Taking the family to a restaurant is not a Togolese tradition. In terms of evening meals, younger households alternate or mix local and imported products and dishes, whereas older people tend to consume a higher share of local products. This is more so the case for northerners. Those from the south have therefore harnessed their environmental conditions and their early links to European traders and colonialists. The childhood habits of many older southerners tend to have been based on imported food which is cooked at home rather than bought from food vendors.

The elderly in the north, even those now living in the south, are so used to certain northern culinary practices certain types of food they tend not to seek out imported food, and only eat it occasionally even when they can afford it.

Single men occasionally eat ready-to eat foods. Despite the paucity of single women living alone, some, having left the village to study in Lomé, eat with family acquaintances or at the houses of relative in the city. Sometimes they buy treats or cook meals. The unemployed live with relatives and usually have no choice other than to comply with the head of the household's preferences. Their eating behaviors are, in this sense, dictated.

In rich households, children with significant allowances often purchase ready-to eat food and are likely to end up preferring imported foodstuffs as adults. Today, when exposed to both home-cooked meals and ready-to-eat meals, children and young adults often prefer the latter. As adults, they might continue to purchase meals sold outside of the home. This has implications for energy intake level and nutrient quality later in life.

Today's Togolese youth are exposed to a diversity of foodstuffs. As adults, the Togolese enjoy the freedom of choice that financial independence brings and this includes occasional access to luxury foods. Young adults from poor households aspire to missed and new opportunities. Access to the world through the internet connects remote areas which have traditionally only made use of technology such as TVs. Poor houses mainly only have radios which the head of house owns. The nature of the internet has made it a more powerful driver of cultural transformation which is more powerful in this regard that radio, television, and to some extent tradition and religion.

The various family/household configurations and the main provider's preferences are the chief determinants of the type of food that is consumed in households. As childhood experiences guide future consumption patterns, changes in eating patterns are strongly related to individual circumstances, and to the communal history of Togo as it has evolved, during and after the occurrence of westernization.

Even though certain foods are presented as 'local', most contents are imported. Imported wheat, when turned into bread using local recipes is also considered 'local' because it is different from the French baguette which is part of colonial heritage. As such, oil, wheat, rice, pasta, processed and canned goods, frozen poultry, fish, sausages, even when cooked using local recipes are nevertheless imported products.

Due to their early introduction to the south, some products such as rice have become part of the regular diet in the south. Southerners are now also consuming northern vegetables. However, financial circumstances are significant here as southerners consuming them usually have very low living standards. Northerners over the age of 50 years still consume northern vegetables with cornmeal as part of tradition, even when they progress into a higher socio-economic class.

4.3 Analysis of findings

4.3.1 Micro-determinants of diet

4.3.1.1 Familiarity

The staple food is a thick porridge of cereal (corn, millet, sorghum) accompanied by a vegetable soup with or without meat depending on the means. After the porridge come respectively tubers as cassava, yams, and plantains. As the widest spread dish in Togo, cereal porridge is consumed by habits/preference born from their attachment to the dish from childhood on.

4.3.1.2 Finance, feeling of satiety and taste

80% of participants designate financial means first in making the purchase decision. Financial motives surpass all other criteria of food choices. Diet often depends on a single person, the financial source of food funds and cooking methods depend on living standards.

The poor over-seasons with salt and does more roasting, grilling and boiling while the rich is more incline to add to those cooking methods, a lot of frying and seasoning with flavor enhancers.

4.3.1.3 Satiety and taste precede nutritional functionalities

Many especially from poor households see food functionalities are rich people's problems and being able to eat is enough. People do not wonder whether or not they should continue their diet unless a sacred ban is reported. Finances are therefore destined to less "ephemeral goods than foodstuffs. Hence, many interview questions seems irrelevant to several interviewees given the context of their living standards. Food as a national competitive advantage remains on several grounds an unconceivable and understandable concept for many.

4.3.1.4 Accessibility and demand evolution

Participants affirmed that in Togo food-related consumers lack leverage and can only purchase it available on markets. That is, pressures come from suppliers, not from individuals/consumers whose power when it exists is limited to the community unless they are a state representative/authority. Imports are the answer to the shifting demand trends induced by the economic transition. Food accessibility, affordability, and food preferences are dependent on the age, location and habits that have changed with an overreliance on imports to the extent that the slow desertion of local products' is not as yet clearly perceived.

Both imported and local foodstuffs are cooked in both rural and urban areas with a greater share for the local food in rural and northern regions. By large imports are hardly affordable by populations of the savannah or northern regions due to the extra transportation costs from the south provided the poor transportation infrastructures (depraved roads, means of transportations, fuel, etc.)

In rural areas, street food is much local while in urban zones street food contain large amounts of imports. Togolese ingest various factory-made foodstuffs that are principally imported (e.g. rice, canned goods). The infrequency of rice imported from Asia tends to perceptibly make it more valued than corn. Togolese have been used to designating as best what the Non-African brings (from modern medicine to new foodstuffs, machines, etc.). Consequently imported rice is better valued than rice now grown in a selection of regions.

In the urban areas as the Capital (Lomé), ready-to-eat meals considerably mixed: both local and imported food coexisting with typical northern and southern food. Food vendors (mostly women from poor household or middle class families) seeking significant profits, simply use the cheapest fresh products in their cooking. Those less inclined to buying meals outside or in minor quantity may be less exposed to the toxicity of manufactured goods but are often located in regions used to wasteful cooking methods (vegetables losing vitamins in the boiling process), poor sanitation/hygienic conditions fostered by climatic conditions, vectors of various parasites. That could be the case of waterborne diseases during long rainy seasons.

Water insecurity result in endemic waterborne diseases (63% only have access to sanitary water) difficult to control in remote areas deprived of safe alternatives to control and limit contamination. Overall, in the highly active economic zones eating behaviors (what, frequency, etc.) are, first and foremost, indubitably guided by the economic and professional life at the individual level.

4.3.2 Macro-determinants of diet

Togo is increasingly dependent on imports and the lack of investment in local food crops' production comfort such position as local food is becoming increasingly expensive due to rising production costs, unproductivity of degraded soil and unexpected climatic hazards,

the key adjustment variable for Togolese agricultural inputs being the weather, fundamental but ever more unreliable.

4.3.2.1 Limited storage options (financial and material)

The poor households cannot store large quantities in times of food abundance as salary is enough to subsist until the next. This encourages parasitic infections of perishables provided that storage solutions (fridge, electric power, etc.) are not financially accessible and when they are suffer frequent power outages. According to the ministry of agriculture's representative that was interviewed there is no longer such thing as drastic food shortage/deficit in Togo as of today (2017). Since the 2006-2007 flood series, aids by the IMF, World Bank and WFP have been put in place for education, transport infrastructure and food productivity. There is a food organization that aggregate surpluses during times of opulence in order to respond effectively to the poor's demand in soldering times caused by poor climatic conditions.

4.3.2.2 Regional disparities, spatial and historical exclusion

Poor transportation and agricultural infrastructure lack in the fluid exchange of goods between the north and the south. The drier northern region does not benefit enough from the south's expansion or more favorable food seasonality. In the South imported meats and fresh fish (due to the Atlantic coastline) as well as imported products as frozen fish, tubers, rice, wheat products and plantains are more consumed as well as fruits throughout the year. Fruits are consumed in the north but during the single rainy season whereas the south has two rainy seasons intermitted with 2 dry seasons. In the south cereal porridge, and oleaginous products, vegetables are also consumed but in lesser amounts than the north which consumed these principally.

Historical plagues still are a cause of social instability among different cultural group, creating opaque block through which knowledge sharing is difficult to realize. Distinctive

contextual colonial frames have caused distinctive post-colonial impacts between the south and the north. Togolese as known today do not share a common history and therefore have different intellectual reasoning processes that condition/contribute to actual socio-economic conditions and exacerbate disparities in a changing world. The proximity to the sea has always been a boon for southern populations who participated in the collection of populations in the center and countryside for European slave traders. Commercially southern populations have had the lead²⁸⁸ and tend more to act more as organic societies as Durkheim could have put it whereas as Northern Populations that had less interaction with foreigners would be more of a mechanical composition with strong sense of family membership or kinship.

4.3.2.3 Occupation-age, gender and marital status exclusions

The social security schemes are ensured by individuals within extended family circles derives from traditional mores, cultural foundations necessary at times, yet tangled with questionable practices of submission. These makes the most vulnerable dependent on their providers' nutritional choices.

The professional status of individuals (the provider precisely) in a household affect eating habits at the individual level and indirectly affect the rest of the household. Thus the household configuration (singles vs couples- polygamous vs monogamous families), cultural origin, gender along with the financial status determine the type, quality,

²⁸⁸ According to Gayibor (2011), during colonial times, the dynamics of the local populations which is lacking elsewhere (Ivory Coast and Gold Coast) is a second serious advantage of the public resources that have taken advantage of such synergies through the capitulation of which yields were weak but manpower workable and not costly. Such social dynamics in fact helped minimize the cost of installing the first infrastructure as well as income from agricultural exports. All of this varied agricultural productions had artisanal industrial track. They were not intended for self-consumption because early surpluses are released from the needs of producers to exchanges against other necessities from other producers. The need for complementarity between different regions and the specialization imposed by the variety of the environments are reflected in intercommunity and interregional exchanges. The exchanges were insured by a social category of occasional merchants (most often it is women in charge of bringing the surplus of the family production to the market in order to stock up on foodstuffs and various articles of which they are not producer. This type of business does not exceed the Community level) or professional merchants who have organized themselves everywhere (the professional markets are rather men who constitute a diaspora generally Hausa or Yoruba specialized in the trade and are at the origin of the creation of zongos, districts of merchant itinerant Islamized itinerant merchants). (ibid.)

quantity and frequency of food purchase and consumption. The person in charge of cooking purchases ingredients based on the affordability and the culinary cultural preferences of the household.

Many young graduate medical doctor whose school fees were not financed by the military leave the country in the search of better-wage jobs. The perceived feeling of injustice and abandonment by the nation country is great cause for rural exodus and foreign emigration. The economic upswing since 10 years increased the number of rich people, deepened the gap between rich and poor given the rising number of people under the poverty line and increasing population.

Gender is a major issue. Man's satisfaction is priority in all matters including the food choices. His preferences guide the household's choice of groceries, cooking methods and eating habits. Opportunities of obtaining an academic education are primarily reserved to him, maintaining his indispensability status in households. Hence the observation by the World Bank (2018) that female-headed households experience higher rates of poverty than male-headed households. Such cultural realities are instilled in children given the environment. Thus even the educated men will always see a women as an accessory which primary functional role (not job) is to ensure progeny, educate children and manage house shores.

Marital status also play a role in women's diet as they must adapt their diet to their "man" or male-mate's preferences by cooking either themselves when they are housewives or have someone cooking for the household when they have a job out of home. The term is not to be understood as official formal marriage but a genuine relationship made public or to which traditional endorsement was given. Middle class young couples in which both the man and woman work may have lunch outside home. A married woman "owes" children to her man and his family. For men, marital status is less determinant as single men at their parents' house, cook themselves or purchase food when they have left home. Without

being married being simply in a relationship with a woman provide them ensure that they will be cared for in terms of meal.

4.3.3 Demographic transitions' socio-economic effects on dietary evolution and health:

4.3.3.1 The evolutionary trends

Historically, imported food was more consumed in southern regions (comprising the capital city) and other major cities throughout the country. Today diet contents predominantly depend on family culture/philosophies even before physical realities, which combined with historicity, are at the genesis of many cultural behaviors that are fading away. Food becomes increasingly segmented based on the cultural group one originates from, but rather on the grounds of social class and location. The share of home cooked meals is sinking as most urban areas are expanding, and rural districts are shrinking with the absorption of rurality by surrounding small cities. In urban areas, some may purchase a meal on their break for practical and convenience reasons (time factor).

Imports are gaining ground in the Togolese households by overtaking local products in terms of price as agricultural productivity is weak and imported manufactured goods are perceived to be of better quality²⁸⁹. Accordingly, businesses owned by wealthy nationals or foreigners benefit most from the free market than the small businesses that are neither armed enough initially nor aided by the state in order to be able to compete.

²⁸⁹ This perception has historical grounds. In view of the first explorers seen as superior southerners firstly in contact with the with invader saw in the newcomers superior being and their proximity with such being made them perceived themselves as superior to the other populations that have not yet been as much in contact with the white explorer. Today, the trend continue via new communication panels as internet through which the youth determines what is superior or inferior in value. Culture does not escape the list of such thing and often comes first through the changing modes of thinking which can be positive at times and negative at others as existing traditions are in many ways more adapted to the social realities as they are meant to protect the individual while asking from him few sacrifices as Rousseau would have cleverly put it.

4.3.3.2 The new rich and a problem of perception

Economic emancipation is not synonymous with the pursuit of improving the quality of eating habits even though the quality of life is supposedly improved. Many would rather save on food budget to finance other things as land, real estate, etc. Financial liberation is rather used to primarily build, buy or extend houses, then travels, clothes, technological products, etc. So the new rich may consume moderately healthier lunch at home instead of buy lunch but consume disproportionate quantities. The poor or middle class who must buy lunch for financial reason eats less healthy, however less disproportionately. Overall, the new rich eat both manufactured and fresh goods in unreasonable amounts. The recent access to all sorts of food have in the Togolese context for many means social rise and self-achievement/actualization. More than a basic need food is a testimonial of social achievement as stated by the ministry of health. An interviewee reported that an acquaintance now affirms to never drink water anymore, but instead only expensive alcoholic beverage (wine, champagne, etc.) since he has socially upgraded. Moreover, as Togolese historically see in large body curves an asset, obesity has for long and still today is not considered and handicap but a sign of wealth. Such vision has been enforced by the AIDS era in which skinny people have been stigmatized as carrier of the virus. The young generation today is slowly changing the view through its exposition to the media depicting slender people as more attractive. Nevertheless curvier and bigger shapes remain an asset in the cultural collective mind.

4.3.3.3 Proximity of the workplace to the house

The food available for purchase in town is basically the same for both the high, middle and low income but the quantity is what will differ depending on each's financial means. The more money there is, the more likely diet will be too sweet, salty, spicy, and lubricious. Overall, given the choice, the Togolese would prefer returning to home to a home cooked meal that is rich of things they prefer.

The pursuit of convenience resulted in the early occurrence of new food disorders (e.g. cardiovascular diseases, diabetes, etc.) among the young and financially independent. City dwellers clearly consume too sweet, too salty, too oily, too chemical food (products with additives) and less organic food regardless of class. This reality relates to new modes/ways of cooking, eating in addition to the non-traditional nature of the contents in meals consumed.

4.3.3.4 Food quality

The excessive consumption of frozen products in a country that experience regular power shortages favoring breakage of the cold chain as well as the lacking means of food vendors to store their leftovers properly along with the lack of effective control threatens public health. Many health professionals have questioned the implications of import products (including wares made of unknown materials as were lead wares used until the metal was proven hazardous) in the rising cases cancers, but no investigation has been undertaken in Togo to identify potential liens. High blood pressure can relate to food, stress, as well as cardiovascular diseases for which alcohol and tobacco. Whereas cancers can be provoked by artificial conservatives and additives in certain manufactured goods (expired or non-expired), tobacco, alcohol and diabetes may relate to diets rich in sweets and alcohol (noting that alcohol and tobacco in Togo are most regular among the low class male individuals). Financial means and proximity are in the south more determinant in terms of what and how people eat. It is due to the greater size of the southern urban areas as opposed to northern small towns and predominant rural localities in which distance is not a hindrance to returning home for lunch. In place of distance, climatic conditions are a hindrance in the north in duet with financial capacity, however less significant when surrounding farming areas have good climatic conditions favoring an affluence of agricultural products.

The social changes has also provoked deeper inequality with worsening poverty in certain milieus where one can observe insufficient nutritional intake due to poor or unbalanced diets. In shortage times due to climatic shocks of food crisis, the poor attempt to survive the price rise in a transition economy until the affluence of food returns. Often the solution is to buy cheap imported goods of questionable quality. Interviewees informed of the fact that many operations by Interpol led to the dismantling of several food and medicine trafficking²⁹⁰ networks in Togo.

These situations aggravate when fruits lack or is insufficient in diets or when the eating frequency is excessively low in the case of the socially most vulnerable or financially dependent (e.g. child, unemployed women, and elderly). The Savannah region in the north and poorest zone of the country suffers the lack of varied fruits intake throughout the year due to the weather. Starchy foods are thus consumed in larger amounts rising the blood sugar level, which can be harmful for people at risk of cardiovascular disease.

Eating recommendations often are among the primary medical prescriptions but not all recommendations are affordable or even easily feasible given the environment. There are patients who could benefit from food supplements but simply can't afford them. Hence, a preference by healthcare professional for dietary advice especially for children and the elderly, or people suffering severe undernutrition (poor nutritional balance).

A rise in the cases of complex diseases has been perceptibly acknowledged. However it is hard to assert specifically that a dietary behavior only is the cause as genetics, stress and other factors play a role. However conditions can definitely worsen or remain when certain habits are not properly monitored and adjusted. Because silent killers as hypertension, or

²⁹⁰ In a joint INTERPOL-Europol operation targeting fake food and drink around the world conducted from December 2016 through March 2017, 420 tons of illicit pharmaceutical and medical products were seized and nearly 26 million liters of fake alcohol has been seized of which 1,000 canned drinks and 2,000 boxes of pasta in Togo followed by the dismantling by the police of a criminal network behind the distribution of expired food and drink in Togo (Interpol, 2017). Nigeria, separated from Togo by Benin, exports many fake products to many African Western counties with Togo among the top consumers of Nigerian products. The same Interpol operation revealed that in Nigeria, the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control seized more than 51 liters of fake champagne.

certain diabetes or heart diseases can be asymptomatic, they worsen without showing visible signs until it is too late to intervene.

For various reasons (finances being a top reason), medical consultations often occur only when it is too late. When diagnoses the costs of treatment lead to unhealthy alternative as trafficked or counterfeit medicine. These are obviously destined to poor individuals who can neither afford regular nor chronic diseases' treatment medications sold in the legal circuit as accredited pharmacies/drugstores. The poor therefore endures twice the impacts of food on their health through the purchase of affordable but toxic goods that not only contribute in worsening physical, mental and financial wellbeing but veils the actual need of a compulsory life-treatment while exposing the body to viral infections and sometimes cause a person to distrust modern medication as whole, or else to the multi-resistance of bacteria. According to the OECD (2013) the multi-resistance of bacteria is due the "misuse of antibiotics or from the repeated use of under-dosed antibiotics, which leads microbes to acquire mutations becoming "super-bacteria", "super-resistant" or even "multi-resistant" bacteria (superlatives indicative of concern in the medical world). Moreover many fraudulent medicine are assimilated to hard drugs when used are punctual pain relief actions. Due to their temporary effect, their consumers can only purchase them repeatedly. For example, anti-inflammatory medicines can cause gastritis and even stomach ulcers. Moreover, when using these products, it is always advisable to take a gastric demulcent to prevent "illnesses" caused by incorrect use. However this is not explained to counterfeit medication consumers. Usually this also ends in renal failures cases that are finally brought to the hospital by family members. At such advanced stage, not much can be done as the kidney is no longer efficient in purging the body of toxic substances dissolved in the blood. Conclusively, Togolese are increasingly turning toward the modern physician instead of entirely rely on the herbalists or spirituals healers may have also contributed in more diagnoses. However, many goods coming through seaways

escape customary controls and as land routes have no customs, adulterated food and medicine find their way in the country. The sanitary control over imported goods is not automatic and it gets worse once food has crossed the border into the country (many products having passed their best before date are still on markets). Few cases of fraudulent change of expiry date have been reported but quantifiably frauds must concern quite a significant share of the informal and/or semi-informal market.

4.3.4 Summary of key issues

In view of the data results analysis, the main issues identified are:

- Lack of nutritional awareness as to the long-term tangible/intangible impacts of dietary behavior on overall wellbeing (mental, physical, interpersonal, financial costs of health problems ...). The knowledge of the diet-disease affiliation remains unclear. It is popular knowledge that the excessive oil or salt is unhealthy, exhaustive details remain nonetheless unknown particularly in poor environments in which random medical check-ups are scarcer. Rural zones which are poorer tend to continue consulting spiritual priests and herbalists which cannot accurately connect a behavior to a disease or specifically diagnose a disease and provide eating recommendations accordingly. In poor households (towns or village), the trend is also to consult a spiritual healer or self-medication through the purchase of street medicine. The rich should supposedly have greater nutrition knowledge than the poor but as argued familiarity with food is a critical obstacle to changing habits even among the younger rich (30years+).
- Noticeable obliviousness as to the true potential of dietary behaviors in improving their quality of life, psychological and physical aptitudes. For many, food is not a real Togolese problematic. As long as one does not sleep on an empty stomach, the next primary concern is habitat ownership/extension to bequeath to progeny. Questioning eating habits was perceived by many (including academics) as not relevant in a Togolese context. The

topic seems fit for the rich or rich societies only. In short, for Togo it is too early to worry about nutritional intelligence.

- Finances are the leading determinant of the types of food consumed and drive the dietary agenda followed by the fund provider's preference (men in most cases even when they currently are not the principal provider in the couple). Women have less opportunities to become financially emancipated²⁹¹. The financially-dependent has little to no influence at all when it comes to the food he/she consumes.
- Cultural constraints (gender, age, marital status) highlight the financial imperatives that undermine economic development as the most financially-dependent women, (women and youth in general) are subjects of submissions. Children do not partake in decisions. There is an extreme deficiency in the empowerment of the most vulnerable in terms of gender, age and community identity. Through these inequalities, a substantial workforce is taken hostage in the social discourse.
- After finances, taste, satiety and product availability and perception prevail in the collective mind (with few exceptions). Quantity is primary in poor households who ensure taste with salt, imported artificial taste-enhancers, and other traditional seasonings. That considered, the level of such taste and quantity increase proportionately with financial capacity.
- The lack of existing alternatives as product visibility and availability is not trivial. Citizens do not believe they can influence the type of food available on the market because alternatives are inexistent. Food options are limited. Hence, willingness to change is hardly measureable. Some informants consider being powerless as regards to how food is produced, what are purchased meals and imported processed food really made of and their health implications.

²⁹¹ Access to education remain primarily reserved to men in deprived households (World Bank, 2017; CIA, 2015).

- As locals who first interacted with food brought by crusaders then colonial forces, many still see imports/processed food today as superior to local agricultural foodstuffs (sanitary status, packaging, etc.) because produced through technology and from wealthier regions. The media (i.e. movies, music videos, etc.) also clearly encourage such perceptions.
- The unattractiveness and undervaluation of agricultural work and local products (encouraged by low investments in food crops) cause massive urban migration that means the decrease in number of agricultural workers while the population is fast-growing. The sustainability of local production in such conditions is therefore compromised. Further, particularly in rural or tradition driven-zones, short-term outweighs long-term (the “live from hand to mouth” or “take each day as it comes” philosophy). This nurtures the alarming absence of farsightedness which compromises anticipation, preparation and action plans.
- Great topographic and climatic imbalances create gaps between north and south in terms of agricultural productivity (more balanced seasonality between dry and rainy period in the south), living standards and eating patterns. This creates unbalanced diets (e.g. Lack of fruit half of the year). Starchy foods then replace fruits but their excessive consumption may result in rising the blood sugar level. Also poor population in such areas become more vulnerable in terms of health as floods during the long-lasting rainy season stimulate conditions in which waterborne diseases spread more rapidly. In many poor households, there is a lack of hygienic and efficient means of preservation (clean water, electric power, fridge...).
- Poor transportation infrastructure undermines the fluidity in the trade of tangible (e.g. technology) and intangible (e.g. intelligence, expertise) goods. Rail transports being the spine of many great economies and country as Togo or Afghanistan deprived of a rail transport system lack economic dynamism. Those constructed in Togo by Germany during colonialization to facilitate the export of agricultural goods has stopped functioning due to

poor maintenance. The line connecting the south and the north stopped in the middle of the country and was neither continued up north nor properly maintained in the colonial aftermath. Of the two lines in the south, only one was incomplete and finished subsequently under French supervision.

- Technological means (mechanized farming) and modern expertise (current farming practices being outdated and degrading for the soil from over-exploitation) represent a great deficiency. So are the poor investments in intellectual (R&D, marketing, etc.) and material infrastructures for growing local food crops. The key adjustment variable for most Togolese agricultural inputs is the weather, fundamental but ever more unreliable. Growing imports and rising safety issues for the most vulnerable always seeking bargains and cheaper solutions (both food and medication). In terms of crops trade, imports largely outpace exports.

- Poor cooperation and weak synergy between stakeholders, namely, health authorities, supply chains and productions, customs or control agents in a corrupted social landscape is a handicap for establishing/maintaining common goals. Absence of safer or better monitoring and enforceable system for the food industry is an example.

- The lack of a unified/single voice to denounce problems for clearer policies in agricultural milieus is fueled by inter-community rivalries that fragment public interests. Unclear and inaccessible law and regulations to all citizens. Land ownerships conflicts due to nebulous laws and improvised oral rulings by traditional law keepers at the locality level. Many neither have the means, nor the intelligence to enter a formal legal procedure they distrust. Circumstantially, they are unarmed in a system they are unfamiliar with and which eludes them one-sidedly.

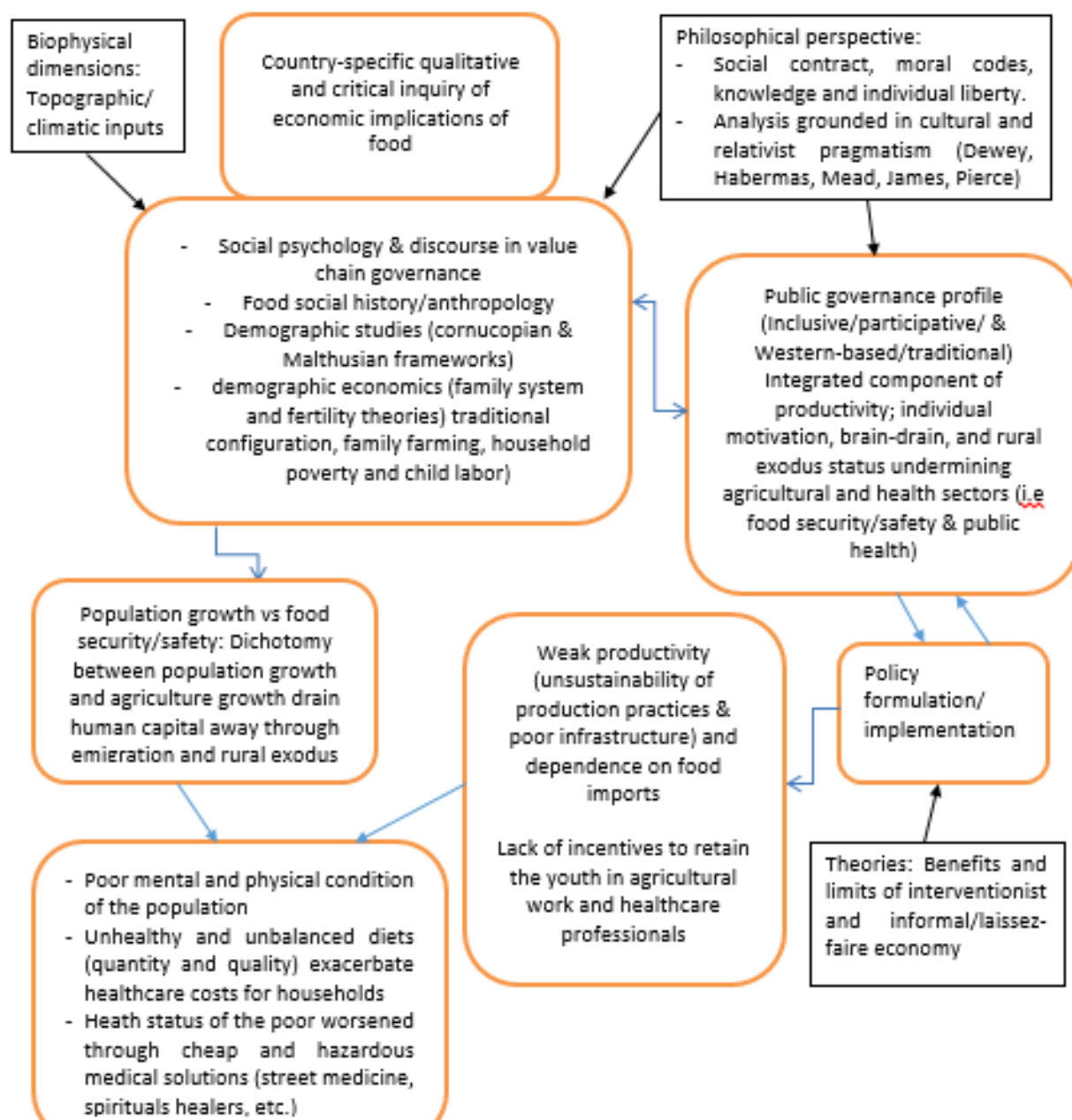
- The inter-community discords in a troubled historical, cultural, and socio-political context and an unfamiliar federal law exacerbate the lack of consensus and the sentiment of inequality/injustice. Traditional chieftaincies still exist. The so-called conflict mediators

use beliefs and traditions to serve personal and political agendas, maintaining many in the state of submission and intellectual inexistence. As such, brain-drain is powered by the lack of incentives from authorities and rampant nepotism polluting and devaluating local laws. A feeling of non-belonging is perceptible among many who depart the country (0.06 physicians/1000people in 2008 (CIA, 2017)). For many “real justice” is inexistent. Corruption destabilizes the progress of expertise, the retaining of brains needed for the maintenance/improvement of infrastructures, and obstructs policy actions while driving potential investors away.

- The country is practically unarmed for preventing, tracking or apprehending frauds. Ongoing price falls on international markets cause colossal dumping of imported food in the Country. The deregulation of trade causes adulterated food and medicine find their way in the country. The informal landscape of commercial activities and deregulation of trade ease occurrences of food-trafficking (change of labels of expired goods, breaks in cold chain, counterfeit foods).

4.4 Research contribution:

Panorama of the holistic model the research contributions



4.4.1 Knowledge gains from methodological stand

4.4.1.1 Roles of age, socio professional/socioeconomic status, work and household locations, household configuration and gender

Based on a qualitative approach and interactions with participants, this research reveals that even though dietary habits are standardized through openness to the world, the pace of change depends heavily on **age, socio-professional, socioeconomic class, work and household locations, household configuration, and gender**. Finally, the interdependent mechanisms of generation, region, and community across pre/post-colonial history are the foundations upon which these elements have developed.

Age is relevant in that some elders, having reached a particular age and having accumulated savings are somewhat more financially comfortable. In addition, their age makes them more respectable people in the eyes of society. As such, they are often aided by diverse family members. However, age is not indicative of professional or financial status and does not dictate food preferences. The share of imports and local products in home cooked dishes is primarily historical and directly linked to the location or environment that shapes eating behaviors.

Little children in the north are likely to eat at home as their school is in a small village. Students may go home or buy a snack from school. Children, teenagers, and young adults with no academic experience tend to help in the fields. They either return home to eat with their parents or eat in the field. In the south, children and teenagers from poor households either buy snacks, go home for lunch or eat a ready meal at their mother's place of business. Children and students in low-middle class families buy food or go home to eat. Those in wealthy households are taken home by assigned drivers or taxis. During morning and afternoon recess times, children from poor households barely eat anything. Those from low-income households buy snacks, whereas those from middle-income households buys

ice-cream or fast-food. Teenagers that have dropped out of school help with house chores or with the family business.

Socio-professional/ socioeconomic status: financial status is not synonymous with professional success, as some are rich by birth. However, when it comes to creating financial wealth, the orientation towards a profession offers opportunities. Social and financial statuses are linked, and eating behaviors tend to depend on socioeconomic status. The affluent can return to a home-cooked meal at lunch time or stay at work and buy/skip lunch depending on means. As supply and taste preference prevail over nutritional qualities, food is consumed in quantities that reflect financial capacity.

Work and household location: More young couples are building or buying houses in the neighboring regions of the capital cities. Besides finances, distance can be a constraining factor in the sense that allotted lunch times are often insufficient to make it worthwhile to return home. Some can afford to buy or rent homes near the workplace and others build, buy or rent in certain areas. Distance from home plays a role in terms of whether one predominantly eats home cooked meals or fast-foods. It also impacts on the frequency of eating. In rural areas, young affluent families can consume 50% local produce and 30% produce from southern regions. The remaining 20% of food consumed is imported.

Household: The concept of family in Togo extends to cousins, nephews/nieces, great aunts and grandparents amongst other. This trend remain strong not only in rural areas, but in urban areas. The rapid urbanization of southern regions due to the proximity of the capital city has progressively diluted extended families and this pattern ensures individuals are protected by the community and to a lesser extent by the state. Community orphans or abandoned children rarely go to orphanages if relatives such as uncles/aunts, cousins,

parents/grandparents are known. They are then placed in the custody of a close/extended relatives. Such relatives must take responsibility to ensure future security for such children. Family liability also applies to cases of medical care, litigation support and academic education. Such dependents are occasionally exploited and malnourished.

Women: In both monogamous and polygamous families, men dominate the household even they are unemployed. As women must manage household chores with or without holding down a job, they are primarily concerned with food choices²⁹². Women teach children nutritional behaviors, yet the male's preferences dictate the food that is eaten. Since boys are priorities in terms of going to school, many women are illiterate and ill-informed about nutritional practices. The south is more westernized and this says a lot about women's place in the Togolese society. Even though the state now gives incentives for girls' schooling, they are valued primarily for their procreative and financial capacity. Many are raised to find a rich husband to gain wealth. Women who partner with rich men gain value and status within their community. Their worth resides in how they care for their partners, rather than in their ideological contribution. When feeding the same meal to the entire household is too costly, cheaper meals are served to all except the male head of the house who is provided with the best of what is available. Children most in need of nutrients to develop physically and mentally are further down the hierarchy than the elderly, since age is respected.

²⁹² A father without a lucrative occupation remains the supreme provider to his working wife/mate/wives and children and is a liability only to his primary relatives. When the financial provider is the woman, the male, or husband's preferences prevail when it comes to the types of food served.

4.4.2 Contribution to knowledge, literature and generalizability

The abductive reasoning followed in this research has shed light on the nature and accessibility of food in Togo.

4.4.2.1 Ethnicity and diet

Two of the most important concepts in the study of African societies are ethnicity and traditional heritage. The first relates to cultural identity, the second to culture in time and history. Group cultural norms and experiences in a given era and location among other input factors influence eating patterns. Age, professional standing, marital and financial statuses as well as personality, personal experiences, allergies, geography, religion, culture and family history are all highly pertinent. Ethnicity generally refers to a social groups' distinctiveness from others. Such distinctiveness may encompass specific sets of shared culture, history, religion, norms, values, customs, language and possibly both apparent and non-apparent physical appearances. Since the idea of Africa as a continent rich in culture is mainstream, the explanation of inter-communal conflicts is often exclusively built on the ideological differences between so-called ethnic cultures. In a West-African context, ethnicity is a societal constituent that is sometimes perceived as a source of nepotism and separatism. This becomes a handicap due to the complexities it suggests in the work of understanding populations and customs, particularly in an area considered 'reasonably' negligible or inconsequential. However here, when making reference to ethnicity, the idea itself cannot be tyrannically reduced to tribalism, separatism or gaps between communities of different cultural heritages.

Furthermore, confirming Rousseau's point, even though tribes necessitate duties from the individual, they also provide the individual rights and comforts that harmoniously fit within cultural groups. These are not fundamentally meant to harm individuals or to be protected against. If coexistence is possible, a harmonized mix of language and culture can be achieved. However, tribal systems as one can be questionable especially when the

decision to amalgamate them into a broader national system at the state level is not made by communities. This fear of the complexities contained in cultural rudiments thus often leads to omissions, misconceptions and misinformation regarding matters considered of lower importance in research.

For instance, interview findings have been useful to reveal key concepts such as ethnicity which carry local and implied specific normative meanings. These have implication on food preferences and dietary behaviors. These were linked to economic wellbeing through their impact on physical and mental health. However the choice of food based on a group culture is not in itself voluntary. Unexpectedly, in terms of food, the biophysical environment was found to increasingly have more power than individuals' culture. The research methodologies were alethic hermeneutics and critical ethnography. As such, the groups interviewed were chosen to represent the richness diversity and complexities of ethnic group norms in order to better appreciate and apprehend variances in the answers and findings. Analysis revealed that local understandings of what ethnicity is, beyond identity, is specific and unique to communities, localities or local groups. Such stakeholders perceive of ethnicity as distinct culturally, historically, geographically, linguistically and politically. Ethnicity sites within the boundaries of the specific context of Togo. Ethnicity is an interpersonal term that denotes an idea of belonging or non-belonging rather than of 'being against'. Personal political leanings therefore can certainly shape our understanding as well as help to underscore the logics behind answers often tainted by pre and post-colonial common history. However, these are experienced to various degrees, depending on the ethnic group's norms or location for instance.

4.4.2.2 Food preferences: Generational, historical and regional links

Age is indicative of food preferences for both northerners and southerners who have a nostalgic attachment to their home and their childhood food habits. Preferences relate to childhood experiences linked to the wider cultural group's geographic environment.

Regional climate and topography tailor the behaviors inherited by children. This was the point raised by Locke (1970[1690]) when describing society as a legacy. The passing of such heritage to an individual is not necessarily a choice because the Togolese adapt to, rather than change culture. The cultural philosophy advocates an inclination toward a vision of nature as all mighty, unalterable. Nature and destiny are the sole powers that influence tradition. Indeed, before being introduced to lucrative trading practices introduced by Portuguese slavers and later colonial powers, only goods that were deemed essential were exchanged.

In certain milieus, some soups are considered better when rotten, yet the rotting was initially accidental, not purposeful. Preservation methods are limited to drying, salting, smoking and frying. Some traditions frown on the practice of throwing away food. Rotten food has traditionally been valued and consumed even though they can cause infections. Some soups had to be eaten economically with porridge over several days.

Differences in preferences are more notable amongst elders as the younger generations in the cities and the event of media have caused diverse eating habits to slowly shift towards more standardized ones. Southern habits tainted with colonialist influences have taken precedence over northern foodstuffs which are more popular amongst younger southerners in middle to poor social classes.

Significant migratory flows from the north to the south took place after independence in 1960. The children and teenagers that left retained kept habits including their southern dietary habits. Indeed, the northerners that migrated to the south brought along their culture and local products to sustain their traditional eating habits. The rest of their diet was complemented with southern eating habits which were later integrated. Nevertheless, there was a clear leaning towards northern dishes as far as the parents were concerned, so northern food became a priority. Families who stayed in the north remained even more profoundly attached to northern dietary habits. This contrasts with the behaviors of the

children that migrated south with their parents and whose dietary preferences combined northern and southern diets. Similarly, in the south there are different degrees of attachment to southern local products and these vary by age. The age of individuals is significant, since many recall and have been impacted by the first arrival of imported foods to southern shores. Therefore, there are different degrees of attachment to certain types of food depending not only on national history but also familial history.

To understand the nation's culinary background/history, it is important to understand the physical realities that have influenced populations' history and culture. The differential relationship of Togolese cultural groups in terms of dietary patterns has also been shaped by Europeans from the 15th century through to colonial times. The geographic location has naturally impacted on eating patterns in that there are now physical, ethnic blocs rather than ethnic groups. While there is an undeniable existence of small ethnic groups, historical and political conflicts have somehow contributed to the creation of groups that have decided to focus on linguistic similarities for instance, common colonial experiences and geographic locations. These groups seek to defend common ideologies in the modern western postcolonial system setting. The proximity to the sea of the south has influenced its seafood eating patterns, but food culture has also been shaped by history. Crusaders who mainly arrived through seaways introduced new agricultural techniques, foods and trade systems. Many of those taken during the slave trade to Brazil for instance, returned and settled directly in the south and returned with other food types and recipes. The North has interacted less with the western world, even though decisions taken by the postcolonial system require their compliance to a new modern national governance determined by colonial powers. Furthermore, the nature of food consumed in the Northern rural regions reflects financial status. Indeed, foods imported specifically via southern harbors are globally less accessible to the north due to transportation costs from the south and the precarious conditions of rural populations.

In terms of production patterns, in the 13th century, Europeans slavers introduced cultivation techniques and new crops (roots, cereals, etc.) in exchange for slaves (Decalo, 1987). Southerners quickly came to understand the dynamics and subtleties of trading goods other than food. Some of the goods that were traded included agricultural and cattle products, calabashes, mortars, pestles, trays, utensils and cooking clay pots/ware. Southerners became specialized in trading and accumulated wealth. They extended their commercial activities northwards to countries in the dry Sahel zones. Psychological and organizational changes as commercial agriculture drove the culture to the south while the northerners continued to live as they had for years on subsistence agriculture. Southerners learned that instead of adapting to nature, it was worthwhile pursuing alternatives because nature is unpredictable. Traditional religions and rites remain sacred to southerners. However, there remains a strong belief that God creates opportunities for people. The exploitation of nature's gift does not degrade over time, but honors deities through man's self-accomplishment as the 'real' final gift. Such philosophies are still valued and have propelled economic activities in the south. Many have come to realize that there are other pleasurable things in life than food. Furthermore, before the putsch led by a northern army officer who then became president for 40 years, southerners ruled over the country commercially and administratively along with the colonial powers. The northern president ensured many northerners were recruited into the army to ensure there would be no revolution or putsch. Northerners lived collectively in their specific communities and were family driven. In modern times some still live peacefully with the benefit of having wealthy people in their family, or in high places. Consequently, many northerners have been assigned to leading governmental positions. Some needed specific training to properly represent the country and they were sent abroad to receive it. Many received specific training to hold a state job, whereas southerners continued cultivating more individualistic and ambitious risk taking entrepreneurial activities in commerce and

investments²⁹³. The south is therefore economically more dynamic due to its strong economic activities, but also due to business centers that developed in the south following the Europeans conquests. The entrepreneurial mindset is therefore stronger among southerners as northerners have, for some time been satisfied with their initial ideal. Eventually they may take advantage of opportunities but they are not actively seeking these. Professional and financial inclinations involve a historical discourse that still resonates in today's Togolese society and many southerners and northerners are now doctors, lawyers and bankers. Understanding this is of interest because the financial status is as said above a predominant determinant in food choices.

In terms of biophysical inputs in agricultural productivity, the southern topography is more manageable and productive than the northern lands due to the contrasting climates. With cooler temperatures, aided by its proximity to the sea, the culture of agricultural products has also become simpler. Food was therefore replaced with other needs. The introduction of manufactured food and other foodstuffs raised the level of expectation of southern populations. This was accompanied by the increasing acquisition of other non-food goods. Given the natural topographic and physical disparities between north and south, the consumption of fruits also became more regular in the south where various fruits succeed one another throughout the year. This contrasts with the south with an abundance of fruit across the year. Sanitary problems are caused by an excessively long rainy season followed by a long, dry and fruitless season in the north. Hence both historical and environmental circumstances participate in food systems and economic model that relate to it.

²⁹³ Mishra (2005:319) highlighted the important "relationships between the types of entrepreneurs and the nature of constraints they face, the reasons for their switch, the constraints they face, and the sources of funds for business expansion"

4.4.3 Theoretical contribution

This thesis also sought to offer a theoretical contribution to the literature on the Togolese food economy. The supply value chain and global value chain theory in the globalization context have been emphasized as determinant in the food system governance. The theories have been explored in order to determine their relevance and need to be better addressed in research in order to improve the status of the food system. In fact weaknesses as individual production framework among farmers and limited power of consumers on the market confirm such need.

The social psychology and governance profile in terms of civil society participation and State power is also found to be of great interest when analyzing extent to which both affect the local food availability, quality on markets. The thesis highlights the need for a holistic approach that associate theories on health-diet relationship and population size-supply dichotomy. Attention is drawn to supply implications of family values and protection schemes external to the state social protection. Household size has in fact different purpose among which income from child labor.

The demographic transition theory has also been confirmed in that the socio-economic transformation of Togo these last years has deeply affected gap between poor and rich as well as dietary patterns. Accordingly theories on population, family and supply were also explored in context (Malthus, Boserup, Simon, Ehrlich), along with individual liberty, criticism, moral, democracy and state authority (Kant, Smith, Hayek, Keynes, Marx, Marcuse, Ricardo, Say, Mill, Bastiat, Tocqueville, etc.). These provided frames to consider the hypothetical natures of Togolese society as the basis for current and further investigations.

The perception of local food has also shown to play a key role keeping productivity low due to the reliance on imports as a solution to supply problem compromising health nutrition and public health by association. A number of philosophical frameworks provided

understandings of the social discourse and psychology that guide food perceptions and value chain governance. The philosophical frameworks covered different approaches to society: Contractarian lens (Hobbes' evil man, Rousseau's good transactional man, Kant's moral society), utilitarian (Locke, Bentham and Hume), pragmatist (Dewey' pragmatism, Habermas' combined symbolism by Mead and Durkheim's collective consciousness and types of social categorization).

The philosophical discussion also involves a patriotic angle which requires incentives for people, physical and intellectual assets to remain in the country instead of fleeing. However efforts continue to be only absorbed by certain groups in ways that clearly show that the country does not benefit from these efforts as a whole. As result of inequity among citizens, they can only struggle toward maintaining personal interests.

Nowadays, even those that are naïvely optimistic are changing toward being the architects of their own destiny or future. That is from a Hegelian reading the result of more contact with the world. Self-awareness and Self-realization occur through comparisons with history and the evolution of other civilizations and cultures. This reaches the point that skepticism has taken over for many. Optimism and faith have persisted over years along with social transformations. Taking these apart literally means losing part of the cultural identity making society incomplete or incapacitated due to a lack of fully "capacitated" individuals. The local cultural psychology involves an ongoing cultural and ideological fight in which individuals are trapped from their first contact with Europeans through colonial times and finally into the internet era.

4.5 Research limitations

The isolated findings of this research cannot be generalized as interviews covered a cross-cultural sample of individuals within small groups. These individuals share similar cultures, ages and professional attributes. Geographically, and on paper, the country is fragmented into 5 regions and locals consider the country to be comprised of two main socio-political zones: the north and the south. Only one government official per industry was interrogated from the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Agriculture). Profiles were diversified but quite representative of the population. Participants included: 27 civilians, 3 pharmacies, 2 health insurance companies, 2 traditional healers, 1 medicine street vendor, 5 food vendors and 11 healthcare academics and professionals. Data gathered from northerners were not necessarily gathered in the north, as most data were collected in the multicultural capital city. Some Northern residents, however participated to the study. Additionally, secondary interviews were not always possible but re-questioning and question-reframing occurred during initial semi-formal interviews. The political and cultural background of the researcher (a native of north Togo) must be taken into account in terms of political and cultural bias related to north/south conflicts.

Conclusion

Based on the theories of thesis' philosophical perspective and new governance theories that advocate that society needs to evolve in their own specific way and on their own terms, the peculiarity of the relationship between the different stakeholders of the Togolese society was explored. The cross-section analysis involved categories of stakeholders considered relevant to the research topic. As previously stated economic status is tightly linked to health status which, as demonstrated earlier is contingent upon good nutrition in terms of quantity and quality/safety. The focus was on both food needs and outcomes of food consumes in the specific context of Togo. In others words how and what food is

accessible and how the food consumed or not consumed affects individuals. In parallel, the social psychology around household size, procreation, household decision-maker health nutrition knowledge, rapport to government, reliance on government intervention, involvement in system governance are addressed. In this line of thought stakeholders involved private citizens, the ministries of agriculture and health, professionals of healthcare sector, traditional health practitioners, health insurance companies, pharmacists, and food vendors/ suppliers. The analysis identified a number of issues:

- Lack of nutritional awareness and skepticism on the appropriateness of health nutrition where supply problems still remain topical;
- Financial capacity is leading determinant of diet content followed by taste, satiety, food perception and market availability of products;
- The socio-economic transition feeds unhealthy dietary habits among the middle class.
- Limitations to decision-making by gender, age, profession, marital status;
- Mostly for financial reason and partly based on traditional beliefs, the consultation of spiritual healers and use of street medicine remain common when while chronic diseases as diabetes or hypertension (relatable to nutrition) require life treatment;
- Increasing unattractiveness/undervaluation of local foods and agricultural work;
- Topographic/climatic imbalances and divergent historical background with imported foods distinguishes regions, namely the northern and southern cultural blocks;
- Poor technological, transport and R&D infrastructures in the agriculture sector;
- Poor cooperation among inter-sectoral and cross-sectoral stakeholders in agriculture and health industries while civil society's scattered voice and weak policy-participation is continually fed by inter-community discords;
- Weak law enforcement encourages the trade of illicit medication that only treat symptoms whereas imported manufactured foods present quality concerns (adulterated, rigged or erased expiry dates and lack of sanitary control when entering the country).

Finally, quite unexpectedly, the investigation underscored two coexisting extremes: scarcity and overconsumption. Before beginning the data collection process, food insecurity and nutrient deficiency, typical of underdeveloped countries, were the two primary axes of investigation focused on.

Analysis revealed that Togo is going through major socio-economic mutations and is by any economic standards still “developing”. Accordingly, nutrition transition is part of the nation’s current set of challenges. Noticeably, aspects such as history, culture and the state of mind of individuals all contribute to dietary evolution. The data sheds light on certain political antagonisms that are linked to pre/postcolonial history. In fact, corn, the national staple food representing about 90% of the nation’s agricultural production and destined for domestic use was introduced by Portuguese crusaders in the 15th century. It eventually became standardized through trade and exchanges between southern and northern regions. This is an example of a product that knows no cultural boundaries in Togo. Ways of cooking it are numerous although some recipes are more predominant in certain areas than others. The other popularly consumed products are cassava, yams, corn, millet, sorghum. As agricultural work is increasingly unattractive to the youth financially and the country still needs to import some basic foodstuff, local foodstuffs are decreasing in diet. The amount of imports and local foodstuffs, manufactured goods, fruits, vegetables, oils, animal-source foods cereals in diets highly depends on financial status and early family habits. Imported rice has come to challenge corn as a “superior food” in households. Its consumption is more frequent in middle to rich class households. This trend is growing from south to north because the south historically and still today is the primary ports of entry of goods in the country and toward the Sahel countries. That is, the south as a trade hub hosting the capital city is more commercial and more urban than the north. Indeed an imbalance of power on food resources exists between ethnic groups due to the early commercial interaction between southerners and slave traders of the 15th century through

to today's colonial aftermath. The north's larger rurality and dryer zones are also where the poorest population live and subsistence agriculture dominates.

Consequently dietary contents of cultural groups of the south vary significantly. The agriculture sector employs about 65% of the population with 34.5% of the labor force, of which 72.6% live under the poverty line (AFD, 2019; AFDB, 2019) causing rural populations' dependence on cash crops to personally finance fertilizers and others necessities for food crop production. Cash crops such as cotton, cocoa, coffee and palm oil represent about 40% of exports. In 2009 cotton alone was estimated to be farmed by approximately 18,500 landholders working independently (IBPUSA, 2009).

In Togo, cultural or ethnic groups are comprised of various metaphysical dimensions. As the respect owed to a group extends to its members, individuals endeavor to secure the social power of their group by all means, including through the ballot box. The appearance of a new middle class has made Togo a flourishing nation for foreign food importers. In different respects, food, as the interviews have shown, distinguishes classes; not necessarily as a public statement but as a self-persuasive way to settle one's social upswing. The improvement of financial conditions opens doors to all sorts of nutritional drifts towards food insecurity and nutrient deficiencies (Anderson, 1990:1555-1600). Local agriculture still contributes significantly to the food industry in Togo, even though imported goods are often transformed, energy-dense and high in sugar and salt. Such foods are also high in Trans/saturated fat. As such, the poor national quality of food is significant and certain foods are often viewed as a sign of prosperity and wealth. The informal economy also nurtures the smuggling of cheap, unhealthy processed foodstuffs increasingly threatening in a now climate-challenged country.

This chapter also highlighted the research contributions. First, the methodological contribution consists in the paradigm through which new knowledge was generated. It laid on direct interaction with participants. Two angles of analysis were pertinent in the

study: Mead's insistence on the power of language and Habermas' emphasis on human interaction based on ethical conduct. In fact participants were more genuine and open to questions which were addressed to them in the local language. Simply put, through this approach, participants directly addressed to in the local language knew they were dealing with a native who was relatively fit to detect unauthenticity. More formal interviews in French mostly concerned state agencies. Behaviors in the data collection settings clearly diverge between when participants were addressed in French, the official language, and when they were addressed in a local language or dialect.

Secondly and as a result of the methodological contribution, there was a contribution to the gap in qualitatively pragmatist and normative knowledge. Findings were insightful as they provided deep frames of interpretations of statistical literature. Most unquantifiable data found are inaccessible in in the contemporary food literature of Togo.

The theoretical contribution mainly concern a participation in fill philosophical and theoretical gaps in the Togolese food literature. The aim was to understand different aspects of the Togolese society in terms of perceptions, actions, and decisions. Aspects highlighted concerned individual liberties and social psychology. That is, individuals' relationship with society and norms. This provided frameworks for the notion of diet, food system governance, family/family planning, poverty, wealth cultivation, and criticism at the state and individual levels. The frameworks then help the analysis of the independence of the food system and economic well-being.

The identified research limitations include the fact that the researcher being a native was undeniably biased. Also, the sample population was rather small and even though representative of the main regional groups. There was no deeper scrutiny in very cultural group specifically. Furthermore, the data collection setting were mainly in the capital city and its surrounding even though some participants were resident in different regions.

Chapter 5. Conceptual framework

“There is no error more dangerous than that of confusing the consequence with the cause.”

(Nietzsche, 1998[1889]:26)

Introduction

The analytical frameworks contained in this chapter draw attention on sociological intangibles as influential assets in producing tangibles actions. They are intended to demonstrate why deeper analysis is beneficial in dealing with seemingly material but fundamentally societal food challenges²⁹⁴. In a Togolese household, moral imperatives of respect have conscious/unconscious implications on who can or cannot eat certain things and make dietary choices. Regarding nutrition knowledge or production practices, there also are specific ethical and metaphysical dimensions causing teleological and deontological²⁹⁵ aspects of thought and action to conflict. That is, who decides, criticises, corrects or teaches based on age, gender, and financial capacity as shown in data collected onsite. The philosophical frames of analysis developed here interpret the linkages between moral imperatives, individual and positive liberties²⁹⁶. They bridge a theoretical gap in the food literature of Togo to initiate philosophical reflexions to be passed on to other studies and contribute in justifying the need for more qualitative investigations in food studies. In this chapter the research background and motivation, study areas problematics and connections between theories and empirical data are outlined.

²⁹⁴ Mandela (WFP, 2004) asserted that hunger is a matter of social justice as there are relatively poor countries where almost everyone is reasonably fed and richer ones where malnutrition is widespread; so countries that successfully reduced hunger did so because they made it a priority.

²⁹⁵ “unlike teleology (a consequentialist approach) for deontologists it is not the consequences of lies that make them wrong but the fact that lies are wrong in themselves; lies are wrong because of what they are even if they can predict good consequences” (Howell and Sorour, 2016:12). The teleological approach does not acknowledge the notion of “white lies”.

²⁹⁶ Kant (2007[1795]:38) wrote: “we should know the mechanism of nature in order to use it on men, organizing the conflict of the hostile intentions present in a people in such a way that they must compel themselves to submit to coercive laws.” The discussion is crucial to determine relationships between states of mind at the community level and at the federal level.

5.1 Study background and motivation

Why is Togo the target study area used as a laboratory for the topic? As a native of Togo (having been exposed to diverse African/non-African cultures), the study of the impacts of food/eating at the local level came to the attention of the thesis author as an opportunity to contribute to food studies where it will matter both academically and personally. Togo resonated as a proper context provided its agrarian status but very weak productivity, production and supply chains. The researcher as an instrument of the thesis helplessly influences the research. Possible bias may originate from the researcher's academic leanings grounded in pragmatist and phenomenological schools of thought. Indeed, terminologies as historical relativism, cultural relativism, and cultural pragmatist are recurring throughout the thesis. In that line of thought, people are what their biophysical and historical environment make them. It is also important to highlight that despite political tensions between northern and southern Togo, the researcher, black African from northern Togo (naturalized French) self-reflected throughout the research regulate the impact of bias, at least the conscious ones. The question of gender is strongly present throughout the thesis. This may be linked to the fact that the researcher is a woman in her 30s born in France in 1983 from Togolese parents (both from northern Togo). The researcher mainly grew up and graduated from high school in Togo but university degrees in International Business were achieved in the U.S., Switzerland, and U.K. education systems. Before and throughout this thesis she is a working mother and wife to a French (Caucasian). She lost her mother to lung cancer at age 57. Mother as father graduated from French universities. Her father is a medical doctor and anesthetist in Togo. He often links health to nutrition. Brother, a telecommunication engineer in Togo graduated in Shanghai (China) and sister is a pharmaceutical engineer in France. As several family members, some of whom were lost to chronic diseases as cardiovascular diseases or diabetes, the researcher currently undergoes a lifetime hypertension treatment.

5.2 The research objective

The idea/intention that underpins this thesis is to contribute in the knowledge necessary to reach practical and efficient solutions as regards to food challenges in Togo. This involves assessing empirical literature and specific onsite behaviors together, questioning how they emerged, what they are telling us in the specific Togolese context, as well as their true impacts in real time (as opposed to GDP). There was an urge to divorce empirical data from the prejudices they can be associated with and reassess these data in way that engages the truth as provided by locals. Because people react to stimuli linked to their interests, the tools to transformation lies in discussions with them. In fact, accurate knowledge is essential today more than ever as it will determine the future winners/losers of the global fights over the control of remaining resources.

As the thesis wishes to be instrumental/functional in participating in the positive transformation of the society, it was necessary to be forward-thinking by making connections between dietary patterns and economic welfare through history, citizens' experiences, and political environment. Overall, the objective of this thesis is to contribute to a local perspective on nutritional challenges and their economic implications in Togo by initiating a gradual metamorphosis of the literature with prior emphasis on the gap in country-specific knowledge, as well as methodological and theoretical gaps:

- Highlighting the qualitative knowledge gap is pertinent because in-depth investigation is necessary to understand how demographic populations are socialized around their food system or how history conveys perceptions on food. The vast array of diversity and mix ancestry/traditions and their complex coexistence with western value systems require a normative scrutiny.
- The gap in methodological framework emphasized the limitations in existing literature which analytical trajectory is principally grounded in an empirical spectrum (statistics,

international agencies reports) or in a mythical concept of a generic/monolithic system in SSA. The danger is the oppressive knowledge system that creates unconscious bias extended to the mainstream academic societies.

- The theoretical gap alerts on the lack of reflexive analytical approach through theoretical frameworks (meso and grand theories). As prejudice is based on general human conditions, social ideology/discourse and symbolic meaning are key to understand the peculiar mechanisms and dynamics of a specific social system.

5.3 The research problematics

5.3.1 Why does this topic matter?

The issue of food welfare is even more important in an economy whose backbone²⁹⁷ is agriculture but remains dependent on the importation of staple foodstuffs as wheat, rice, etc. (CIA, 2019). This paradox motivated an investigation into the economic implications of local diets by reviewing production and supply chains.

By 2050 it is expected that around 4.2 billion, or a quarter of the world's population, and some 40% of all children below the age of five will be located in Africa (UNCDF, 2017). With a land area of 56,600km², a population of 8.082 million people in 2018, a fertility rate at 4.38 births/woman, and a population growth rate at 2.45%, Togo ranked 18th out of 195 countries in terms of experiencing the fastest population growth rate in the world and 26th in terms of fertility rate (4.75births/woman in 1968) (CIA, 2019; WB, 2019; UNDESA, 2019). Its population is projected to reach 15.4 million people by 2050 (UNDESA, 2019). Despite the decreasing population growth rate, population will nearly doubles between

²⁹⁷ 34.14% of the active Togolese population is involved in agriculture, 90% of which is involved in crop production. Commercial and subsistence agriculture remains the main provider of food security and employment for a significant share of the labor force despite the country's continuing dependence food imports (CIA, 2019). In 2017 the top partner countries and regions from which Togo imported food included Indonesia, France, Brazil, Malaysia and Ghana (World Bank, 2019).

2019 and 2050 and this will pose serious challenges in terms of feeding an increasing number of people (ibid.). Some 55.1% of the population in 2015 lived under the poverty line on less than 2\$/day²⁹⁸ compared with 81.2% in 2008 (WFP, 2018; UNICEF, 2008).

The poor productivity reportedly driven by poor infrastructure and governance as well as recent unprecedented climatic instabilities are now critical threats provided the fast growing population. This not only compromises access to food in general but also to balanced diets (Cohen and Garrett, 2010, Cohen, 2005).

As reported:

Good nutrition is our first defense against disease and our source of energy to live and be active. Nutritional problems caused by an inadequate diet can be of many sorts, and when they affect a generation of youngsters, they can lower their learning capacities, thus compromising their futures, perpetuating a generational cycle of poverty and malnutrition, with severe consequences on both individuals and nations. While young children are the most vulnerable to malnutrition, the right to adequate food is universal and good nutrition is essential for all. (FAO, 2019)

So, in terms of food security, the concern is where on the resource-constraint global chessboard Togo currently stand and will stand in 2050?

5.3.2 Knowledge gap: Limitations in existing studies

The wealth of data that a normative investigation may produce lack in current literacies, commonly empirical and generic. The limitations are identified as arising from the systematic categorization/labelling of data based on country “type”. As analytical questionings of the status quo lack, the rigid empiricist pattern must be broken and investigation shifted from generic to specific²⁹⁹. It is established how a crippled food system

²⁹⁸ According to WFP (2018), Togo is classified as a Least Developed Country (LCD) and Low Income Food Deficit Country (LIFDC), and remains among the poorest countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Over 50 percent of the population live below the poverty line (under USD 1, 25 per day). Poverty is strongly linked to under-nutrition, food insecurity at household level is prevalent across the country and is particularly high in the northern regions.

²⁹⁹ “Occidental societies have interfered in the concerns of developing countries without understanding and in certain contexts inflicted greater harm on any moral discrepancy they wished to dissipate...Many of the occidental structures that have been developed do not consider local culture and the need to provide flexibility” (Howell and Sorour, 2016 :15-16)

produces a crippled economy through health costs but it is important to identify which needs are more pertinent to look into for the specific zone under scrutiny. The quality and paucity of available information on food production and individual-level food consumption, especially in the most nutritionally-challenged regions of the world, according to Hawkesworth et al. (2010), severely hamper efforts to link agricultural production with health. A child's nutritional needs may be universal³⁰⁰ but components of the local food/diet, necessary to fulfill such needs, varies depending on the child's environment and his/her physical conditions. Indeed needs may differ if the child is malnourished because of gastrointestinal problems with impaired absorption of nutrients or is malnourished mainly due to recurrent infectious diseases, as compared with a child with malnutrition due mainly to an insufficient diet" (Michaelsen et al. 2009:s344). However, in environments where such questioning does not take place, it is often too late to identify dietary problems. To reach practical responses, specificity in knowledge therefore appears as essential. The lack of public awareness on biosafety and nutrition may relate to the absence of pertinent qualitative data involving daily life experiences³⁰¹, socio-environmental constraints, consumption and production associations, dynamics and mechanisms. Such gap in knowledge perceived in Togo led to investigating what Togolese dietary patterns entail and how they represent a socio-economic risk/challenge. Differently put, how specifically diet translates to economic status in Togo.

In the absence of country-specific knowledge, oversimplification and generalization are likely to occur leading to misinformation and/or reform fiascos. When the human mind can form no idea of the distant and unknown Vico (1984[1725]:60) says, it makes judgements on the basis of what is nearby, familiar and at hand. The thesis suggests that a more accurate means of determining if/how the economic burden of healthcare is an outlet for

³⁰⁰ According to the FAO (2015), basic principles of what constitute a healthy diet remain the same but the exact make-up of a diversified, balanced and healthy diet will vary depending on individual needs (e.g. age, gender, lifestyle, degree of physical activity), cultural context, locally available foods and dietary customs.

³⁰¹ Qualitative research involves informants' daily life experiences (Sandelowski, 1986)

certain socio-demographic factors is for research to assess these from social and pragmatic angles. The deficiency in country-specific knowledge on the agro-food literature of Togo is an incurring cost of a lack of expertise and resources.

In 2014, the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) and West and Central African Council for Agricultural Research and Development (CORAF/WECARD) assessed the largest Togolese Agricultural Research Institute (ITRA). These bodies represented some 70% of Togo's full-time equivalent (FTE) agricultural researchers in 2011. Several institutional, financial, HR, and R&D infrastructures challenges were identified:

- The non-official status of researchers, categorized as public servants with ominously low salaries
- Insufficiency of government funding and dependence on uncertain funding from private donors and development banks
- Existing funding was mainly diverted toward infrastructure and training instead of research
- Lack of expertise exacerbated by the assignment of experienced researchers to other ministerial departments.
- Ineffective communication mechanisms between farmers and researchers weakened linkages between the private sector/modern technologies and the Institute of Consulting and Technical Support (ICAT); the main national agricultural extension agency.
- Only 6 out of the 78 ITRA researchers held PhD degrees and 4 out of the 6 had approached retirement age. The training opportunities were limited at a time when the field lacked sufficient numbers of well-qualified researchers in a number of key research areas. The last researcher in the erstwhile soil fertility program retired in 2013.

- Research focusing on vegetables, livestock and animal biotechnology as well as water management and forest seeds was being led by only two researchers. The animal health research program employed only one researcher.

Even though farmers are mostly women, these represent only 9% of ITRA's researchers and only 2 out of 34 researchers recruited during 2008–2012 were female.

- R&D infrastructures including the entomology, phytopathology, and virology laboratories, and the animal research unit became inoperative due to dilapidated equipment and poor infrastructure. The equipment in the remaining laboratories became outdated. The biosecurity laboratory in Lomé, recently renovated and equipped with state-of-the-art technology funded by the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) was no exception. This laboratory was staffed by untrained researchers and technicians could not operate the new equipment. Office space is a handicap as up to four researchers are required to share a single office and frequent power cuts and poor Internet access outside Lomé also compromised efforts.

Provided the status of R&D in Togo substantial knowledge remain veiled. In West Africa the sources of data used for some countries to measure food security and safety status are those provided by cross-cultural dietary surveys. The patterns observed at an aggregate level are often contrasted with those observed at an individual level. This contrast depends on the category of information that is being examined, but also how the information is sought.

5.3.3 The methodological gap: the problem of generalization

"In the cultural sciences, the knowledge of the universal or general is never valuable in itself." Weber (2011[1897]:80)

The argument supporting this approach is that 'generic' cultural characteristics can allow for safe deductive categorizations. General sociological points of view certainly permit a more concrete description of a given economic structure but broaden rather than deepen analysis according to Habermas (1996:155). Sandelowski (1986:27-37) considers generalization as naive because situations, researchers and informants have unique characteristics that are non-transferable to all phenomena. The convenience of simplification has implications for truth when inter-subjective norms are neglected. "In the sphere of complicated economic process, the more certain and the more comprehensive our general knowledge the greater is the certainty of imputation" (Weber, op. cit.)

Theoretical incoherencies become apparent when instead of departing from the categorization of nations one looks at communities, and individual needs. Durkheim (2014[1895]:21) explained 'social facts' as "manners of acting, thinking, and feeling external to the individual, which are invested with a coercive power by virtue of which they exercise control over him." The exclusion of subjectivity in social affairs was predestined to failure and could lead to hypocrisy Aristotle (2015:717) warned. That is, unsound empirical conclusions should not be forced upon reality when the empirical treatment of a social subject has failed at some point in time³⁰². To justify "the irrational" he argued, "we appeal to what is commonly said to be...we urge that the irrational sometimes does not violate reason; just as it is probable that a thing may happen contrary to probability"(ibid.).

³⁰² "Critics...jump at certain groundless conclusions...pass adverse judgement and then proceed to reason on it; and, assuming that the poet has said whatever they happen to think, find fault if a thing is inconsistent with their own fancy." 'Aristotle, 2015:717)

Due to limited resources for data collection at the micro-level, the main systems of measurement of food and economic status are statistics or reports developed by international agencies/institutions and used as proxy measure. These statistics and reports contribute to valuable information, sometimes critique of systems and guidelines towards action. They nevertheless have pitfalls in that they lack explanatory multidimensional analysis. This is problematic because in Sub-Saharan Africa one can hardly separate culture from governance/economic development. This thesis argues that before critique, questioning/understanding the plurality and complexity of relations between a system's active forces through multidimensional analytical fields (while acknowledging the merits of culture/history) is essential. This would help identify how the status quo could be productively challenged in a particular historical, biophysical, sociopolitical, socioeconomic, and sociodemographic context. Particular relationships between eating and organizational identities are non-negligible in discussing flaws in the food system because the same international guidelines succeeded or failed in countries depicted as similar economies. The green revolution well illustrates the relative pertinence of policies.

Because the cultural nature of humanity makes it difficult to draw conclusions about psychological universals (Heine, 2010) the common denominator in humanity probably is cultural distinctiveness³⁰³. The goal of a poststructuralist investigation is to highlight gaps (if any) in what we think we know about local realities from singularly statistical, generic all-inclusive literature. Hence, the pertinence of an interactive process of data collection will be determined by the worth of the approach that emphasizes cultural pragmatism over empiric and economic pragmatism.

Culture, in this thesis, is a concept that goes beyond assessing a 'way of life'. It focuses on 'ways of living' as experienced at the state level as opposed to the level of a group of states.

³⁰³ "None of us has measured the distance which can exist between one man and another" (Rousseau, 1979 [1762]:62)

The former alone is broad enough considering the multiplicity of localities and cultures within each Sub-Saharan African country. There is no radical theoretical shift because numerical data even though limited by their informative function (mappings, fact inventories, charts/figures, etc.) are used as illustrative tools in the thesis. Historical, statistical, cultural and theoretical data are reconciled to reach locally-identified root causes of food challenges. For instance, a country bordered by the sea is more likely to have fish as a subsequent part of its traditional diet than a country with no water coastline. This is the case for Togo and Burkina-Faso which are often grouped together in numerous case studies of Sub-Saharan Africa. Yet, nutrition education toward health gains should vary between these countries in terms of nutritional intakes based on available food, traditional cooking/preservation habits, biosafety, etc.

That is, similar problems, even food-related, cannot be treated uniformly in countries with 'similar' cultural and macroeconomic profile. It is worthwhile exploring the extent to which policies such as the green revolution might be more successful in some areas than others. It is worthwhile examining eating patterns in Togo in a more inductive manner. Because micro-cultural factors are often undervalued/overlooked the deductive approach nonetheless is not entirely rejected because not every province and town can be exhaustively studied. "Thick descriptions", as Geertz (1973:10) put it, reveal more about the Togolese relationship to food, and how they represent themselves as citizens and cultural and economic beings nationally, and in the world at large. In his 'Theory and Practice', Habermas (1973) emphasized the existence of social ideologies that are neither necessarily visible, nor graspable and which people are not necessarily conscious of. "Every instance of problem solving and every interpretation depend on a web of myriad presuppositions. Since this web is holistic, it can never be grasped by an abstract, general analysis" (Habermas 1990[1983]:10). There is a clear interest to identify, understand and

evaluate the power of customs contrasted with the political, economic and climatic factors mostly considered in the food literature of a “marginal” economy such as Togo.

5.3.4 The theoretical gap

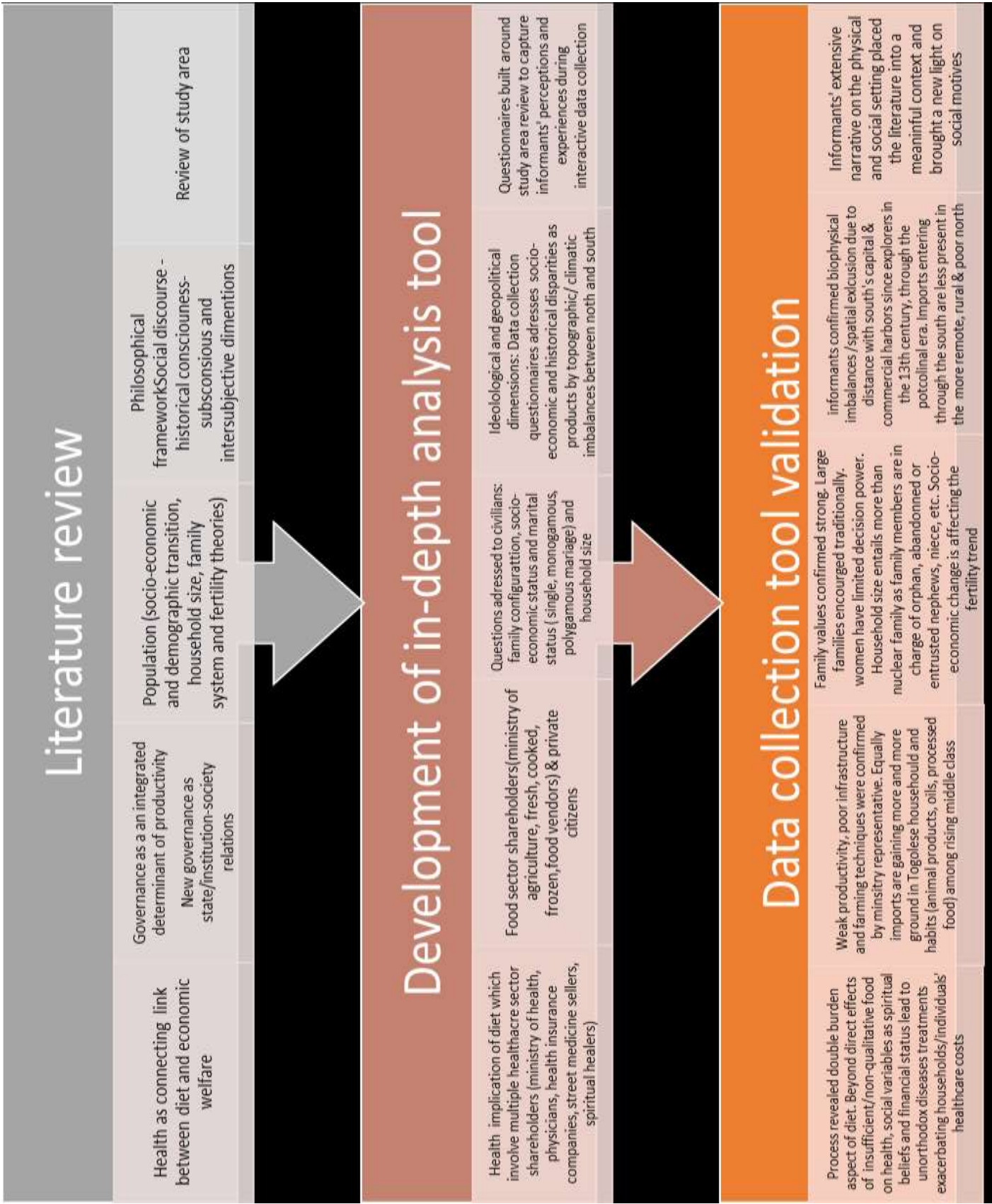
Despite a common colonial heritage, West African countries diverge in terms of structural patterns born from the associations of historical legacies and biophysical environment. As (Schmid, 1981) remarked, behavior is primarily influenced by the physical sociocultural and psychological environment and these form the basis for naturalistic inquiry. Philosophy, ideologies and mindsets are also reflexive outcomes through which social construction occurs. However across diverse analytical fields, philosophical frameworks lack in the agro-food literature of Togo. Philosophy is relevant because even today all fields build on knowledge generated by human needs, questionings, experiences. These induce for instance thinking/reasoning on the existence and importance of problems, and when determined as major, solutions to successfully master them.

Theoretical dimensions and framework of the power relations among social discourse, policy-making and behaviors are dialectically developed.

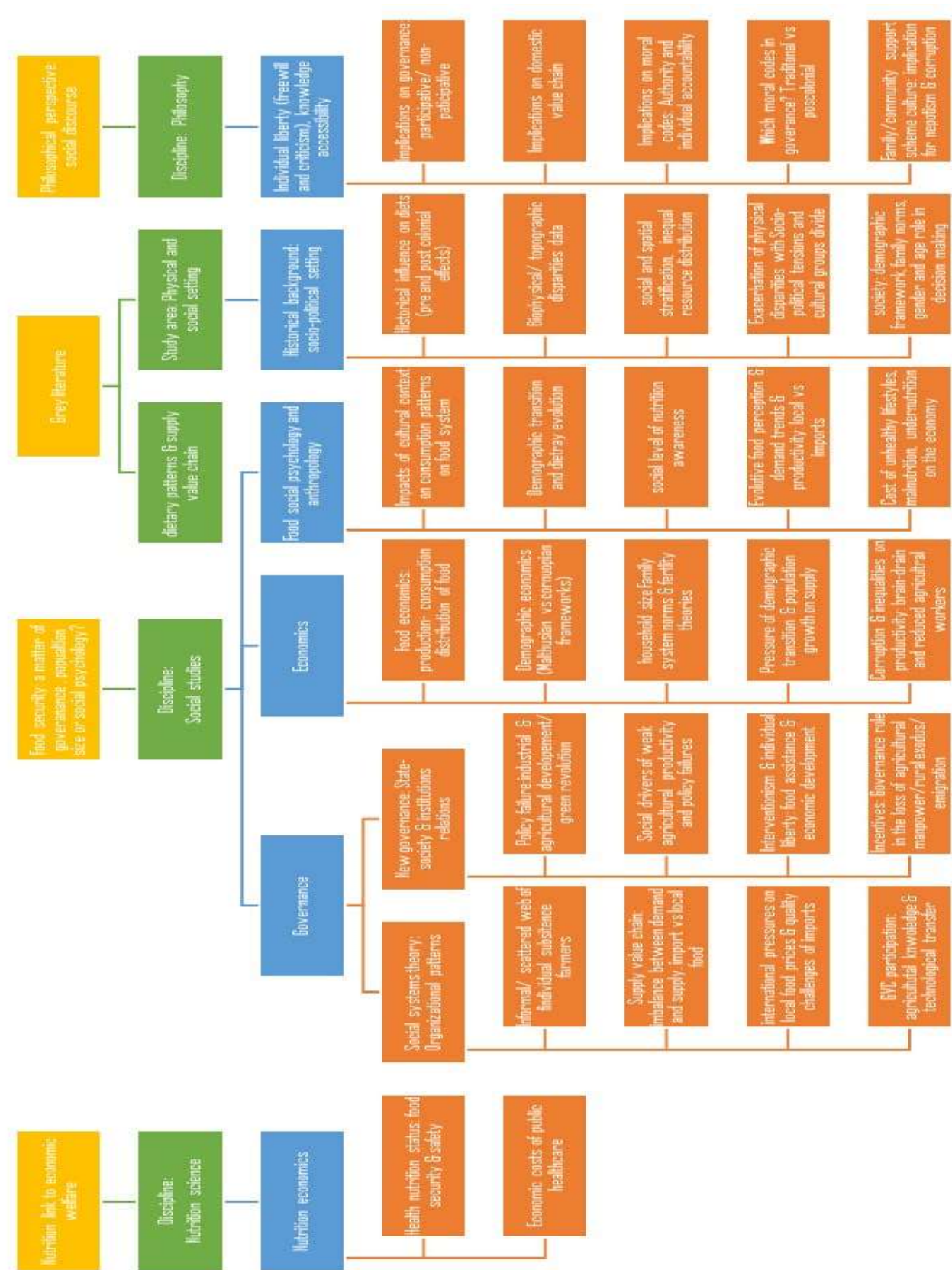
The goal is to develop interest in theoretical assessments of social interactions by establishing how powerful the intangible forces that navigate sociological structures are. The used frameworks are analytical interpretation tools that assist the thinking process in further studies. Indeed, more extended understandings of social systems require justification through validated interrelationships between theories and practice.

5.4 Snapshots at the conceptual framework and research map

Research conceptual Framework



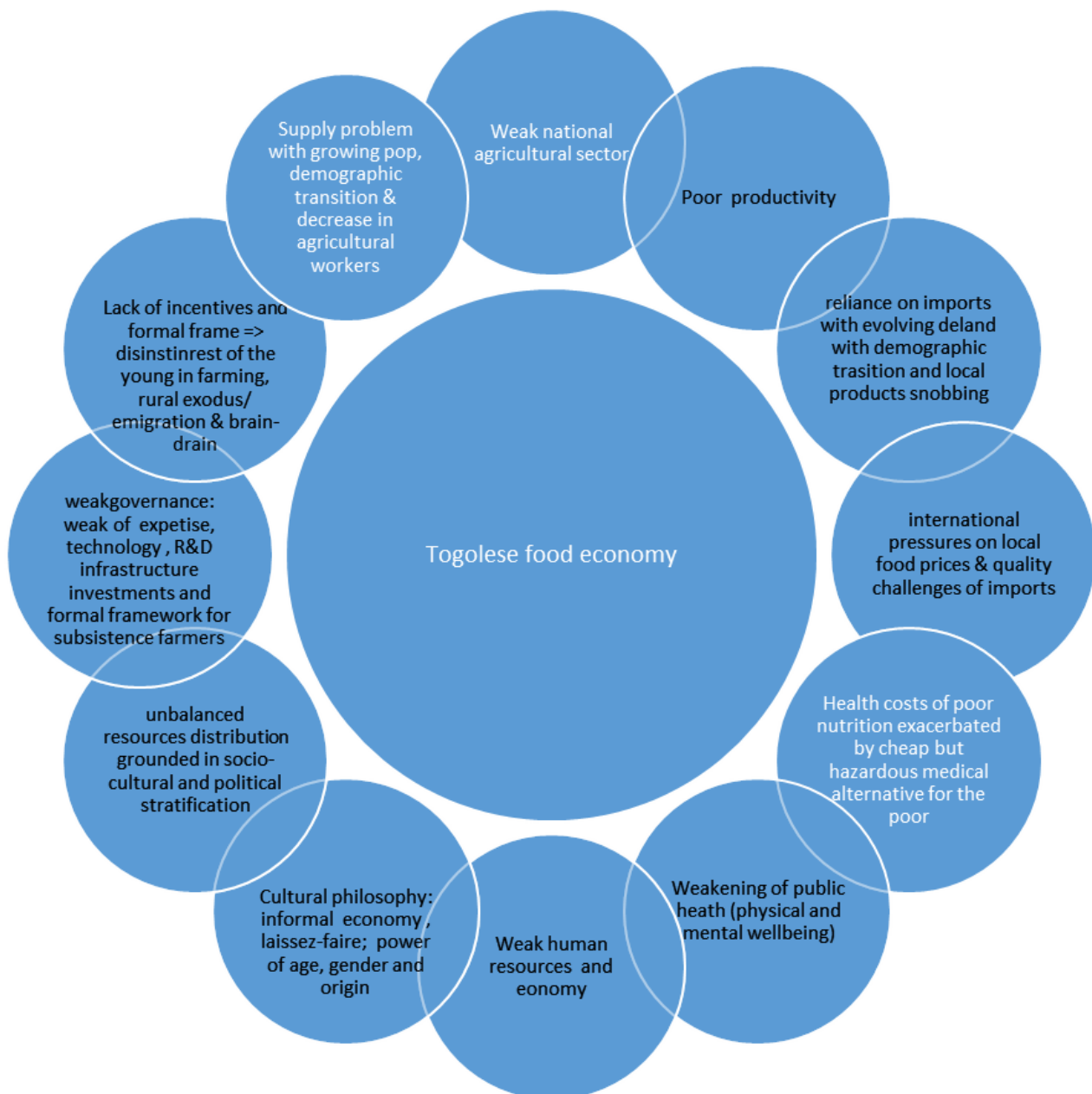
Research map



5.5 Measuring the relevance of meso-theories in the study area

This section exposes the relevance of theories explored in the literature review in Togo.

It is split into three parts. The first section concerns governance theories reviewed. The second section concerns population theories and family systems/norms theories that address population problem in relation to food security. The third section explore the philosophical and ideological perspectives based on the grey literature.



Theory-based matrix of relationships between key societal variables

5.5.1 Society as cultural entity: local applicability of food anthropology and social psychology

When it comes to socio-cultural identity and psychology, experience has showed that the same inputs in different societies do not produce the same outputs.

Drawing on Durkheim's collective consciousness and Mead's symbolically mediated interaction, Habermas' concept of 'communicative action' infers that society can be conceived as the lifeworld of the members of a social group (Habermas, 2005[1981]:204). A key factor in all societal phenomena is social psychology. For Mead (1934:7), social psychology is: "behaviouristic in the sense of starting off with an observable activity - the dynamic, ongoing process, and the social acts which are its components elements- to be studied and analysed scientifically. But it is not behaviouristic in the sense of ignoring the experience of the individual- the inner phase of that process or activity." Thus, behaviour carries history, stocks of knowledge and emotional meanings. Habermas (1987:4) explained: "Mead rejects not only the methodological individualism of behaviour theory but its objectivism as well. He does not want to restrict the concept of 'behaviour' to observable behavioural reactions; it is to include symbolically oriented behaviour as well, and to allow for the reconstruction of general structures of linguistically mediated interaction."

5.5.1.1 Food anthropology

Lopriore and Muehlhoff (FAO, 2003) state that even though literature portrays SSA or West Africa as one region food problems are variable and affect each country differently "the dryer Sahelian countries being more prone to food shortages and starvation than forested ones. The disparities in food availability are stark in the Sahelian countries, such as in Burkina Faso and Mali, and in coastal nations such as Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Togo. Differences exist within the region in the sense that diets in the Sahelian zone are

70% cereal-based. Diets in the coastal zones consist of a mix of 35% DES from cereals and 35% from roots and tubers.” Similarly antagonisms between cultural establishments and western-based postcolonial governmental establishment are different and have different outcomes.

The concept of “society” entails culturally compartmentalized ideas/understandings. These intervene when we attempt to distinguish or describe societies. For Dewey (2008 [1930]:120): “We are given to thinking of society in large and vague ways. We should forget ‘society’ and think of law, industry, religion, medicine, politics, art, education, philosophy and think of them in the plural. For points of contact are not the same for any two persons, and hence the questions which the interests and occupations pose are never twice the same.” A generic definition of society is “a relatively independent or self-sufficient population characterized by internal organization, territoriality, cultural distinctiveness, and sexual recruitment” (Sills and Merton, 1968:577).

It is however maintained that specific definitions vary depending on the elements emphasized³⁰⁴. As used here society involves organization, territoriality, and cultural distinctiveness which is specific to the living human population realm. By “Togolese society”, the thesis implies Togolese citizens living on the territory and Republic³⁰⁵ of Togo, regulated by the Togolese law (pre-colonial and post-colonial laws) and subject to both regional and national Togolese culture(s)³⁰⁶.

³⁰⁴ As Aristotle (2015:717) suggested: “when a word seems to involve some inconsistency of meaning, we should consider how many senses it may bear in the particular passage.” As such, the questions will be considered pertinent if expressed through local lenses.

³⁰⁵ Kant ((2006) [1798]:235) defines a republic as “the only true civil constitution” and “authority with freedom and law”. Thus, the concepts of normless, stateless, counter-economy societies are not pertinent here.

³⁰⁶ For Weber (1949:81) culture is a finite segment on which beings confer meaning and significance. Thus, culture involves social mechanisms and their meanings.

5.5.1.2 Social psychology: A matter of perception

The role of cereals is thus gaining significance for food security in West Africa with imports constituting approximately 25% of total supplies in coastal countries compared with only around 5% in the Sahelian zone, where traditional coarse grains (sorghum, millet, etc.) constitute the main staple.(Lopriore and Muehlhoff, 2003).

Given the high fertility rate in Togo, food supply issue are not only worsened, but food safety has also emerged as a serious problem. Because of consumer's snubbing attitudes towards local food and colonial period that contributed in depicting manufactured foods as superior, many foods in the natural bio-diversified landscape have been overlooked in supply chains and diets³⁰⁷.

The misconception that consuming European/Asian/American produce is a sign of wealth has in fact grown with the socio-demographic transition in Togo. Imported foodstuffs such as wheat, wheat flour, oils, sugar and dairy products, etc. decrease the consumption of local goods. However, the motivation behind food preferences is significantly variable from one country to the next. Means certainly play a role, but perceptions also matter, even in low income countries. The standardization of habits mirrors a colonial heritage in a globalized world. In Togo, Imports that are affordable to the poor are typically local, non-manufactured or processed imports available at lower costs but with no quality guarantees³⁰⁸. Indeed, imported foodstuffs which have faced dumping denunciations³⁰⁹

³⁰⁷ FAO (2018) recognizes biodiversity as being integral to agriculture, and is committed to working with governments and other key actors to mainstream biodiversity as a vital element of sustainable agriculture.

³⁰⁸ "Street foods are a significant contributor of daily energy and nutrient intakes, playing a prominent role in food access by the urban poor." However the quality of food sold is highly questionable principally due to a "Lack of infrastructure (i.e. water, sanitation) and a legal framework for street food vending contributes to the poor sanitary conditions under which street foods are often prepared and sold, which can result in serious food contamination and foodborne illness." (Lopriore and Muehlhoff, *ibid.*)

³⁰⁹ Since 1992, EU and USA have been facing accusations of dumping in WEST Africa, namely, in Togo, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Nigerian and Sierra Leone (Broutin et al, 2018; Ferrari, 2017; Orasmaa et al. 2016) Choplin, 2016; Magnani, 2016;CTA, 2014; Duteurtre, 2009, 2007; Dieye et al., 2003). The price gap between whole milk powder and fat-filled powder has increased in recent years. In Senegal for instance, one litre of milk reconstituted from milk powder, is sold at a consumer price between 800 and 1100 FCFA, whilst local milk is sold at 1500 FCFA per litre, depending on the production zones (EMB, 2019)

consist of cereals as rice, barley, oats, or wheat grains³¹⁰ (for bread, a colonial legacy now staple food) or animal products as milk of questionable quality³¹¹ that benefit a low import tax regime (5%) (OTR, 2019). Reportedly, quality standards in food governance (IFS/BRC/HACCP/SQF/Global gap, etc.) and corporate social responsibility initiatives have positive effects in developed countries whereas in developing countries, they are overlooked and mainly concern foodstuffs in export markets (Fuchs et al., 2009:353-367). Lopriore and Muehlhoff (2003) stated that urbanization in West Africa has made food consumption patterns become more diverse as a result of increased food choice in markets, and changes in lifestyles associated with higher income levels, time constraints, trade and a taste for new foods. It has also been suggested that diets in urban areas tend to be based more heavily on processed and pre-prepared foods. The reasons for the shift towards these foods include convenience, availability and price. Consumption habits in urban areas have been reversed in times of economic crises (ibid).

Consequently, there is a shift towards unhealthy diets that participates in nutritional deficiencies³¹² which could have been remedied if individuals were more familiar with their

³¹⁰ Destined to be transformed locally into flour by the milling company SGMT “Société des Grands Moulins du Togo” which is owned by the French group SOMDIAA (Somdiaa, 2018; ManationTogo, 2015). In Ghana the independence from the British colonial power was less ambiguous and British business interests were more clearly defined (Stockwell, 2007)

³¹¹ According to the European Milk board report, Oxfam, and SOS faim (2019) in West-Africa, milk powder is imported mostly in 25kg sacks. These sacks benefit a low tax regime, the Common External Tariff (CET) being fixed at 5% at the ECOWAS level while this tariff is at 60% in the Eastern African Community (EAC). In most cases, it is skimmed milk powder fattened with palm oil, which is 12 times cheaper than milk fat used to make butter. The resulting mixture is sold 30% cheaper than whole milk powder in African markets. It thus provides a significant margin for companies importing fat filled milk powder, since from 2016-2018, they imported it from the EU at an average price 58% lower than the price of whole milk powder. The reason is that the end of milk quotas in 2015 has led to an increase in production and therefore bigger stocks of milk powder in EU. With 145 million tons of milk produced in 2018, the EU as the world's biggest milk producer. Domestic demand being lower than supply, the EU is increasingly turning to the world market to sell its products. The export share of this production has doubled in 12 years going from 6% in 2007 to 12% in 2019, including mainly cheese, butter and milk powder. The global demand for milk fats (cream, butter) having increased significantly, so has their price. In 2017, the price of butter has quadrupled compared to 2003 to reach \$ 6500 per ton. However, the by-product of cream and butter is skimmed milk powder, which manufacturers are seeking to sell. The price of vegetable oils having fallen sharply since 2011 was a boon. However, besides unfair competition to the local production the African consumer is often deceived, with severe risks to his/her health as a consequence. Packaging does not always clarify the true content of dairy products, especially concerning fat-filled powders. Some products such as small transparent bags or yoghurt do not always have a label indicating what type of milk was used. Hence the possibility of confusion, which reinforces the images conveyed by advertising. However, re-fattened powders do not have the same nutritional qualities (fatty acids, minerals, vitamins) as whole milk.

³¹² Notably, “changes in diets and lifestyles, especially in urban settings in Sub-Saharan Africa involve a shift from the consumption of traditional staples to imported cereals (wheat and rice)... The nutritional quality of local diets remains low for most people and access to adequate food is not always secure for the poor... While overall DES has increased in the region, dietary quality and diversity have not improved.” (Lopriore and Muehlhoff, 2003).

biodiversity. Certain plants which are potentially exploitable are disregarded by the local population.

An ethno botanical study carried out on both minor and food plants threatened with extinction in 280 localities in Togo throughout 5 ecological zones and socio-ethnic groups revealed that: “traditional plants are less used for food by humans because of more sophisticated eating habits. This is due to (the) adoption of food modes known as advanced (modes) in which local plants take scarcely any place” (Akpavi et al., 2016[2013], 39:55)]. As they are not cultivated, and are only valued during food crises, their long term survival is threatened. In Togo, “changes of food practices involved 80 spontaneous plants species and 40 cultivated species of which 15 have more than 2 local varieties concerned. A large fraction of these endangered wild fruit and vegetables is a concern because of their use for food and cooking recipes of West African origin during food crises. Changes are due to the inaptitude of the plant to offer a varied range of culinary forms (as well as) ...the ignorance of the specific culinary practices to certain plants, socio-economic changes and mix of people due to migratory movements and inter-community marriages” (ibid.).

The World watch institute (2016[2011]) sees a solution to hunger problems in indigenous crop varieties if the population can be persuaded to consume them. The purpose of the reintroduction of homegrown domestic food to autochthons is to achieve the discontinuation of overreliance on imported food stuffs, and the search of local ways to produce local goods driven by local demand. And because diet-related health damage can only be prevented through timely intervention to address malnutrition problems, rapid and effective procurement of food resources from nearby surplus regions may be preferable in many cases (Melito, 2009).

5.5.2 Governance: The value chain paradigm in Togo

The attention given to the domestic value chain in the thesis owes to the fact that Togo remains highly challenged in terms of agricultural productivity. The food supply chain is ill-monitored for both raw and processed products. This is critical because even though policies are numerous, they are not directly applied toward national food security in terms of agricultural skills and technologies development. Hence there is a need for strategic choices for the purpose of policy coherence.

Population pressure alone may be insufficient to enable effective productivity. The governance identity matters. For instance, fish are an important part of the Togolese diet, and the country is bordered by the Atlantic Ocean, yet fishing is far from highly developed (IPBUSA, 2013:170). “The fisheries output, which is relatively low, comes primarily from maritime fisheries. Fish farming remains marginal despite the potential benefits and opportunities offered in this area. The level of animal product consumption coverage had not specifically increased, so the coverage rate for national animal product consumption is roughly 70% and for fishery product the rate is below 50%.”(IBPUSA, 2009:172). Questionably, much of the poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa is concentrated in rural areas and most concentrated amongst food crop farmers (Oduro and Aryee 2003; Lopriore and Muehlhoff, 2003).

One common trend that is recognizable in most of Sub-Saharan Africa is that internal markets do not generate foreign currency earnings, but they are developed based on a series of often small-scale activities including agricultural production, transportation, storage, processing, distribution, catering, and other intermediate consumption practices. These practices span energy, materials, packaging, and services. These often involve duties performed by women who are also carrying out domestic work (AFD, 2015) and the activities themselves are not well-recognized by public institutions. Such working women are not professionalized and do not benefit from bank financing, external advice, or

appropriate legislation despite the significant role that they play in networks of employment and food security (Broutin and Bricas, 2006 in AFD, 2015). Investments are directed toward export cash crops as coffee, cocoa, and cotton (ibid.). Autonomous producers or those involved in subsistence farming without support remain vulnerable to climatic shocks. “Production levels have fluctuated widely in recent years with the weather and rural population depends on cash crop income to finance fertilizer and other inputs for their food crops.” (IBPUSA, 2013:170). Also, “even though people in rural areas have more opportunities than city dwellers to grow their own crops, they are also more vulnerable to food price changes. If increases in the cost of food are greater than the increases in the income earned from production, food security can be affected. Rural citizens are more at risk because their budgets tend to be modest.” (AFD, 2015)

In several sub-Saharan African countries where rural diets were essentially provided by subsistence agriculture, between 2/3 and 9/10 of national food consumed are now purchased and self-agricultural production is less than half of the economic value of food consumed (ibid.). Furthermore income also circulates by way of remittances by family members living in the city or abroad (Fréguin-Gresh et al., 2012; Losch et al., 2012), and people in rural areas combine their various sources of income to purchase significant proportions of their household food supplies.³¹³

5.5.3 Global value chain and Togo

As expressed earlier GVC-related transactions present several development solutions to transition economies as Togo in terms of technological transfer. Togo can hardly be considered a state that has fully embarked in the GVCs as a determinant and active member but rather as a passive member. Wheat for instance is imported, transformed

³¹³ The system of food distribution has become almost completely monetized. As a result, urban and rural households alike have now become sensitive to fluctuations in food prices and not, only to the amount of food they produce for their own supply.

onsite into wheat flour by a French group and sold to local bakers. To get most of the GVCs, the government has engaged into developing its extractive industry, improve quality of public service and the cost of and availability of utilities (AOE, 2014; AFDB, OECD, UNDP, 2014). In fact GVCs in Africa are largely interested in raw materials sourcing³¹⁴. However it was not until 2015 that the Government, supported by GIZ, revived the value chain (CV), with significant results (Agrinatura.eu, 2019). This was considered as part of the 2016-2025 national development plan the PNIASAN which aims to encourage public and private actors to jointly value the environmental, economic and social potential of Togo.

Besides the traditional cotton, coffee and cocoa exports in Togo, pine apple is among the products considered to set up and operationalize an industrial strategy that promotes transformation to which investors are sensitive to. The expected outcome, a transparent and formal scheme capable of encouraging the return of donors. Indeed, one IMF recommendation for Togo was that strategic objective “should focus on increasing productivity and gaining participation in the global value-added chain, so that living standards of a large portion of the population can be improved” (IMF, 2015).

However, in terms of GVC participation focus is mainly on commercial products rather than subsistence products which lack still lack a clear value chains and financial support. Even though, commercial products provide a significant number of jobs³¹⁵ the processed products prove to be very competitive and dominated by some countries like Ghana or Côte d'Ivoire.

³¹⁴ “Much of Africa’s participation in GVCs is in upstream production, with African firms providing primary inputs to firms in countries further down the value chain”. (Foster-McGregor et al, 2015)

³¹⁵ According to the 2019 Europe Agrinatura report, the 2,249 million FCFA (3.4 million €) of total salaries (direct and indirect) distributed correspond to approximately 5,800 equivalent jobs full-time. With self-employed jobs (around 3,200 producers, 1,600-1700 traders), the pine apple value chain has a total of more than 10,000 jobs to which family labor must be added.

Further, the precariousness of the land situation of certain producers is also likely to call into question the social sustainability of the exportation products' value chain³¹⁶. Effort are principally directed toward the GVC participation when domestically, nutritional challenges remain and are likely to grow. Indeed the same effort toward subsistence agriculture will not only transform the nation from a nutritional, health and economic standpoint but also from a social perspective³¹⁷. Linking hunger problems to moral values Mandela (WFP, 2013[2004]) stated: "hunger is an issue of social justice and not economics...There are relatively poor countries where almost everyone is reasonably fed and richer ones where there is widespread malnutrition...Those who have succeeded have done so because they have made it a priority to end it. Hunger is a moral issue." That is, the government has a role in supporting the food chain and dietary patterns that affect the health of the economy.

Furthermore current value chains as developed toward GVC integration lack incentives to keep the youth in the agricultural world. Farming becomes increasingly unattractive in terms of revenue. This trend is not new and only worsens. Indeed, due to urban migration, the amount of people working in agriculture has been drastically decreasing. Farming is undervalued in society and there is a lack of financial and political incentives to gain the youth's interest (Peace Corps, 2009).

³¹⁶ Organic pineapple producers are organized in cooperatives while pineapple producers conventional are small autonomous operators and often unorganized. The structuring of producers is however still limited. In general, the poor access of producers to price information of international pineapple creates an asymmetry for the benefit processors, exporters and semi-wholesalers. The trust is generally low between producers and transformers; and contracts (when they exist) are not are not always respected. Some processors and exporters have developed a form of horizontal coordination: companies that fail to keep up with demand, outsource a part of their orders to satisfy their customers in the deadlines required. This is especially observed in the substrings of value "organic dried pineapple" and "fresh pineapple organic packaged on the field and exported by air" (Agrinatura.eu, 2019).

³¹⁷ "The pineapple value chain in Togo has positive social effects in the areas of gender equality, food and nutrition security and social capital." (ibid.) Also, "the profitability of pineapple-related activities motivates producers 35% of whom are women. The number of companies in packaging / processing is also increasing. The value chain is also very inclusive of women at level of wholesale and retail trade. It benefits more than 3,000 small producers who obtain annual net income from pineapple equivalent in average 1.4 times the Togolese minimum wage. The net income of pineapple, although not unique, is therefore sufficient to respond the basic needs of these households but it does not yet motivate enough young people. The CV offers job opportunities to many employees too both in terms of agricultural production and packaging for the export, transportation and production of large diversity of processed products. However, the level of wages could be improved" (ibid.)

Investment in the formation of youth and food crop agriculture, rather than cash crops is still an obstacle³¹⁸. Efforts toward regaining the trust of investors and donors need also to be sustainable as trade restrictions and difficulties and administrative delays with respect to the implementation of the contracts and projects undermine attempts to reboot Togolese economic welfare. Noticeably, after partitioned schemes whose failure discouraged the donors (AFDB, BOAD, EBID), in 2018 the coordinator of the Incentive Mechanism for Agricultural Finance (MIFA) launched by the government clarifies that: "The construction of value chains according to the new mechanism is based on two dimensions: agricultural value chains and agricultural finance chains"(Agridigitale, 2018).

5.5.4 Domain of applicability of interventionist theories in Togo

These theories explore social conditions as reflective of actions/behaviors of government with regards to the notions of liberty, resources distribution, education, commerce, and labor. Literature and business reports/indexes highlight the informal, laissez-faire' nature of economic activities in Togo. The informal economy that accounts for 90.4% of the total workforce and 10-20% of Togo's GDP has an annual growth rate of 5% (Djahini-Afawoubo and Atake, 2018). Most informal workers are women, 88.7% in urban areas and 94.2% in rural areas (ibid.). Togo represents a business crossroads since it is the site of the entry of goods moving toward Saharan states and locations on the Atlantic coastline between the Ghanaian and Beninese capital cities. In spite of various sociopolitical crises, it still flourishes informally. "Commercial activities have become very undiversified and characterized by distortions largely attributable to the preponderance of informal operators." (IBPUSA, 2009:176). In Togo, the 2014 labor market profile reported that: 'the

³¹⁸ "One of the challenges that threatens the sustainability of the value chain is its low attractiveness for young people. While the activities develop and represent employment opportunities, they are unattractive because of the arduousness of the work in the plantations and in the processing factories, unattractive incomes and wages and the difficulties of access of young people to funding. At the agricultural level, this can cause a loss of transmission of know-how in the cultivation of pineapple." (ibid.)

importance of the informal economy is reflected in its overall contributions to national output and the economy as well as employment generation. The 'sector' contributes between 25% to 50% to GDP and accounts for over 70% of non-agricultural employment. When agriculture is included in the definition of the 'sector', the informal economy employs more than 90% of the total workforce. The most important activity is trade (49%), followed by services 29%, and manufacturing (23%). Street vendors account for 75% of the trade component” (LMP, 2014). The lack of formalities in business can suggest that society is integrated with a Smithean philosophy of laissez faire. Togo has complex traditional foundations affecting policies and governance weaknesses.

5.5.4.1 The Togolese laissez-faire

An informal street business disengages government to varying degrees. Unemployment is an example. Extended family/community members often rely on a single income.³¹⁹. “Most individuals suffering hardship or accidents rely either on the help of family (or clan) members or traditional mutual assistance schemes. These schemes are self-organized by their members and provide services on a rotating (e.g. rotating savings clubs, tontines) or emergency basis” (BTI, 2016).

Informal activities also discharge the government of its welfare duties and concerns. The welfare system is underdeveloped and available only to the formal sector and government employees (op. cit.). Nonetheless, “whether in the formal sector or the informal economy, the agricultural sector, or in urban or rural areas, are not generally protected against the major risks to which they are exposed by their occupational activities” (IBP, 2009:196). As formal sector employees do not necessarily work in the best conditions, the informal sector “still prevails, providing employment for more than three times as many laborers as the formal sector. On a larger scale, there are still too many hurdles to

³¹⁹ It is important for the Togolese to help family members whenever possible, with the understanding that assistance will be reciprocated when needed (Culturegrams (2014)

developing a stable private sector. Government procurement contracts and dispute settlements are subject to corrupt practices. The lack of transparency and predictability, and the high informal transaction costs inhibit robust FDI. Foreign exchange accounts need prior government approval.” (BTI, 2016). Informalities are also social discourses in formal spheres and are subject to “the failure to adequately exploit Togo’s export potential stems from insufficient coordination between regulatory bodies, the weakness of the system, a lack of information on exports markets, low and irregular output, and problems associated with product quality.” (IBP, 2009:196). Thus, the Togolese ‘laissez-faire’ concept, besides implying freedom of action, rather serves to create a social understanding and balance. However there are mixed opinions as to the associated detrimental and beneficial aspects.

5.5.4.2 Downside of the Togolese laissez-faire

“The informal character of much of Togo’s entrepôt trade has contributed to the development of a culture of corruption and tax evasion.” (BTI, 2016)

Freedom of trade is a significant aspect of the food economy in Togo where agriculture is the primary economic activity. Bastiat (2011[1847]:182), in praise of free trade said: “Down with the laws that precede the advance of public opinion! Free trade means a little more wealth; the spirit of free trade is a reform of the mind itself, that is to say, the source of all reform.” Marx (1976[1848]) argued that individual freedom create class injustices.

The literature on Togo reports alarming injustices. The lack of well-established laws and ambiguity created by the coexistence of traditional verbal laws together with permanent records of modern post-colonial laws exacerbate inequalities/drifts³²⁰. Age and gender are sacred in communities. A manager cannot command a lower ranking employee if that

³²⁰ “An independent judiciary exists mainly on paper... The judicial system suffers from legal pluralism (i.e. the separation of official and customary law derived from colonial times).” (BTI, 2016)

employee is older³²¹. According to, ‘Custodians of traditions’ are above modern justice because of their holiness and affordability to the poor. The majority of the poor have limited access to official law in practice. Traditional chiefs are accepted as brokers between the state and the local population, and as custodians of customary law (*droit coutumier*) by constitutional stipulations (BTI, 2016). Those who can afford to bribe such custodians remain powerful. In a society like Togo where the state is, itself subject to traditional malleability, inequalities are not easily isolatable. “Most contracts on agricultural land are still verbal. Disputes over land are extremely common. Only about 36% of arable land is under a tenure system that provides long-term security. Especially poor farmers, migrants and women have no secure rights.”(ibid.).

Commerce “has traditionally played a leading role in the Togolese economy. Togo’s relatively liberal policy and good infrastructure, including the port, airport, and telecommunications system, have made it an important transshipment center, particularly for goods to Nigeria, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger” (BTI, 2016).

The nature of the ‘laissez-faire’ attitude in Togo reveals that about 25-30% of Togo’s imports are officially re-exported. However, actual re-exports are probably higher since many of the goods entering Togo leave the country through informal channels. Those channels are at subject to corruption practices that severely impact the poor.³²² Hence the Marxist criticism of free trade as a vicious ill within society:

Do not imagine, gentlemen, that in criticizing freedom of trade we have the least intention of defending the system of protection...the protective system of our day is conservative, while the free trade system is destructive. It breaks up old nationalities and pushes the antagonism of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie to the extreme point. (Marx, 2000 [1848]:450)

³²¹ “Within the family, age hierarchy is important, and elderly people are deeply respected. Because of their experience and wisdom, their advice and suggestions are sought before important decisions are made.” (Culturegrams, 2014)

³²² “The president of Togo’s Judges’ Professional Association (APMT) complained, at the association’s plenary at the end of 2008, that the Togolese people have to suffer a two-tier judicial system. One for the poor and one for those who are able to buy the judges’ conscience. A World Bank survey of businesses (2010) revealed that 60% of respondents believed that the courts were neither impartial nor free from corruption.” (BTI, 2016)

However with new measures against corruption, the rank of Togo improved to 137 among 190 economies in 2018 from 150 in 2016 (WB, 2019) and Togo scored 30 points out of 100 on the 2018 Corruption Perceptions Index reported by Transparency International.. The informal and non-interventionist nature of the Togolese environment is defined by a lack of enforcement and disorganized structures of state organisms. Thus the principle of 'laissez-faire', and its application amount to a mode of living and a shared the state of mind. The BTI (2016) asserts that: "The history of informal political institutions in Togo shows the rich base of traditional as well as modern institutions, which participate actively at all levels of society." Globalization not only affects economic activities but also impacts on the political and social conditions of nations. Thus, the nature of state intervention in a country like Togo involves foreign aid to a high degree. Laissez-faire styles have their limits in Togolese discourse, even when it comes to condemning government intervention. Both public restrictions and individual liberties necessitate to mutually adjust especially in rich historical and cultural areas such as Togo.

5.5.4.3 Ephemerality and unaccountability of aid

Following the 2008 food crisis, and the floods in Togo, the government declared a requirement for emergency aid (WFP, 2016). Trust in destiny/divinities as well as poor planning play a part. Climate scenarios developed in the 2013 IFPRI report (Jalloh et al.2013; Amegadje, 2007), revealed that Togo was located in an area that is set to experience a decrease in rainfall and a rise in temperature.

Reportedly, that will negatively impact agricultural productivity and the well-being of the population, particularly in rural areas. When that happens will Togolese be able to overcome it on their own or only a minimum international assistance? Indeed Togo's bilateral donors and lenders suspended assistance in the mid 90's as a results to political instabilities and poor human rights and democracy performance. Aid only returned in

2007 after the completion of the IMF's Staff-monitored program upon which The IMF, the World Bank, the EU and others donors resume aids (FAO, 2016; IBPUSA, 2013). Beyond the question of food sovereignty, assistance has controllable/uncontrollable as well as observed/unobserved limits. These include the unpredictable nature of aid, the lack of transparency and modes of distribution of aids. Clearly, the volume of aid is diminishing, perhaps since the proportion of external debt service to export revenue in developing countries fell from 12% in 2000 to 3% in 2013 (UN, 2013 :52-53). As the FAO (2006:38) reported "the availability of food aid, if it persists, may undermine the policy environment for agriculture by masking the need for policy reform." At any rate, reliance on aid is not sustainable.

5.5.5 Population theory, family systems and fertility theory implications on social transformation

With the growing population, the middle class's emergence and growth as well as the reduction in agricultural workers, the gap between supply and demand is fast widening. The growing demand induced by the demographic transition foster the need of imports to supplement the subsistence-based production. This however creates unfair competitiveness with local products when the desire to obtain products as cheaply as possible is strong in the Togolese society (Peace Corps, 2009). It also put vigilance to sleep provided the critical aspects³²³ as the rapid population growth, soil fertility depletion due

³²³ Past regularities in the climate have cultivated complacency and an emphasis on subsistence agriculture in environments which have historically limited philosophies of wealth cultivation. In the face of new economic difficulties, recent climatic shocks, the misdistribution of resources amongst ethnic groups and a lack of clear and fair policies, the nation now faces a significant brain-drain and slowed productivity. According to Bach (2003), the 'push' and 'pull' factors exist and are distinct as growing disparities in working conditions between richer and poorer countries offer a greater 'pull' towards the more developed countries whereas the role of governments and recruitment agencies in encouraging the migration of health professionals to acquire more knowledge increases the pull but necessarily in the primary expected way provided disparities formerly mentioned (Narasimhan et al., 2004). "Trained health professionals are needed in every part of the world. However, better standards of living and quality of life, higher salaries, access to advanced technology and more stable political conditions in the developed countries attract talent from less developed areas." (Dodani, 2005)

to excessive farming practices, brain-drain and rural exodus³²⁴ that undermine manpower in different domains including agriculture. The climate as demonstrated in recent years (floods and drought) is no longer a viable variable to ensure food security. Confronted to these issues the need for domestic agricultural productivity even more urgent.

In such circumstances, it will be legitimate to ask if imported foods really distract from the need to focus on more sustainable solutions. That is the motivation or incentive to focus primarily on productivity rather than importing foodstuffs through purchase or aid. From Boserup's perspective that technological progress is scarcity-driven as well as other academics (Maas, 2009), short-term reliefs provided by assistance after climatic instabilities undermine the necessity-driven motivation needed to trigger technological progress. That is, evolution comes from necessity under population pressure and where there is no need emergency the economic agent dies in people. Simply put, needs as population's pressure on resources clearly exist but are not pronounced enough to ignite social change and fuel productivity because current needs are often appeased through two options: aids or imports. Though the lack of alternative especially for the future is indeed the core of the concern. Additionally, for Boserup (1965) people are assets not only because they force the appearance of purposeful scarcity but because they represent the machinery for creativity and innovation as long as they are permitted to express their skills. As evoked in the grey literature, in a hierarchical society as Togo where individual liberty is limited by age and gender norms/values and nepotism, technological advancement would seemingly be jeopardized. In the meantime population increases, large families are socially encouraged, men remain the main decision maker including for contraceptive matters and children also serve in household work or labor for additional income. This also participates in causing the young to emigrate where their skills can be freely

³²⁴ Due to urban migration, the amount of people working in agriculture has decreased. Farming is undervalued in society and there is a lack of financial and political incentives to gain the youth's interest (Peace Corps, 2009). Investment in the formation of youth and food crop agriculture, rather than cash crops is still an obstacle.

expressed, acknowledged and fairly remunerated. In 2012, about 1.5 million Togolese lived abroad (nearly 75 % in Africa) (AFDB et al., 2015). The imbalance between the growth of the urban population and low wealth creation in the country is one cause of Togolese emigration (AFDB, 2015). The literature reviewed as part of this study shows that, broadly, a woman's worth in Togo is primarily in her ability to be submissive to their male mate, give birth, take care of the household/children or be a reliable financial source (culturegrams, 2014. She is to have a monogamous relationship³²⁵ (that fits Engels' views on monogamy as a product of a capitalist system) whereas for men polygamy is legal and extramarital relations acceptable. Men have children from different women living in the same or different household especially as large families are highly encouraged in most communities. Modern communication media somewhat standardized ideas of what a good family should look like (mononuclear)³²⁶. Despite globalization and the importing of western culture through media, the same norms encountered from childhood are carried through to adulthood as the individual interacts with others in a specific interpersonal/inter-subjective communication spectrum. Such interactions occur through, for example, moral discourse and narratives. However the adoption 'western way' translates differently in different environments with different realities.

³²⁵ "In the great majority of cases today, at least in the possessing classes, the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy, without any need for special legal titles and privileges. Within the family he is the bourgeois and the wife represents the proletariat. In the industrial world, the specific character of the economic oppression burdening the proletariat is visible in all its sharpness only when all special legal privileges of the capitalist class have been abolished and complete legal equality of both classes established. The democratic republic does not do away with the opposition of the two classes; on the contrary, it provides the clear field on which the fight can be fought out. And in the same way, the peculiar character of the supremacy of the husband over the wife in the modern family, the necessity of creating real social equality between them, and the way to do it, will only be seen in the clear light of day when both possess legally complete equality of rights. Then it will be plain that the first condition for the liberation of the wife is to bring the whole female sex back into public industry" (Marx and Engels, 1973[1884]:22-23). Monogamy "is based on the supremacy of the man, the express purpose being to produce children of undisputed paternity; such paternity is demanded because these children are later to come into their father's property as his natural heirs... As a rule, it is now only the man who can dissolve it, and put away his wife. The right of conjugal infidelity also remains secured to him, at any rate by custom (the Code Napoleon explicitly accords it to the husband as long as he does not bring his concubine into the house), and as social life develops he exercises his right more and more; should the wife recall the old form of sexual life and attempt to revive it, she is punished more severely than ever." (ibid.)

³²⁶ Engels (2010,1981[1884]:142) stated: "with the ponderance of private property over communal property and the interest in its bequeathal, father rights and monogamy gained supremacy, the dependence of marriages on economic considerations became complete. The form of marriage by purchase disappears; the actual practice is steadily extended until not only the woman but also the man acquires a price, not according to his personal qualities but according to his property...Such was the state of things encountered by capitalist production...Marriage according to the bourgeois conception was a contract, a legal transaction and the most important of all because it disposed of two human beings, body and mind forever...loosening all the old ties of society and undermining all traditional conceptions".

Conclusively, when looking at norm-driven societies as Togo, complex micro-factors are involved with specific family systems and fertility motives. The failure to have successfully engaged in an industrial and green revolution as in Asia in spite the population pressure may owe to the particular mindsets and ideological stand of the society³²⁷. Consequently, theories must be put into context for evaluation. A study examined the relationship between the agricultural and service sectors in SSA, particularly in agrarian rural areas. It came to this conclusion:

Europe's transition from an agrarian to an industrialized economy has been used as a universal model and yardstick for the evaluation of economic development. African realities need to be judged on their own terms. In-depth exploration of the interrelationship between the agricultural and service sectors by social scientists representing a variety of disciplines is long overdue. (Bryceson, 1996).

However implications of reforms as the one child policy in China, level of control of corruption (among top reasons often cited for the failure of the green revolution in certain regions) are to be determined in the supply-oriented policies. Indeed, this is to consider on a county-specific base. As a result, the next section explores different philosophical stands that convey social identities.

5.6 Measuring the relevance of philosophical readings

Most people understand how philosophy is essential to the humanities as their ideological principles/viewpoints dictate their actions. However such realization does not stop there. How do we use what we know of such realization and its implications? In order words, is there a social contract? What determines it and in which setting? Is it long-term or short-

³²⁷ "Like farmers everywhere Africans have responded to instability and economic decline by economizing and at the same time attempting to diversify their options. The particular forms of these activities have however reflected specifically African conditions including the role of social institutions in processes of access and control and my in turn have contributed to the intractability of the agrarian crisis itself."(Berry, 1989)

term? What are the terms, how to which extent they benefit/disadvantages parties involved, how is power balanced among parties?

As previously discussed the thesis highlights individual liberty, social philosophy and psychology and norms/value that influence governance (value chains, supply chains, etc.) level of innovation and technological progress. Weber (1949:81) asserted that culture leads us to judge certain phenomena of human existence in its light and to respond to them as being (positively or negatively) meaningful. The purpose of exploring the philosophical spectrum stems from the assumption that deconstructing the country's traditional, cultural and legal specificities, tensions, adaptability, and evolutions will assist analysis of the symbolic meaning that guide social phenomena. That is, governance and governmentality intrinsically build on philosophical foundations (Netelenbos, 2018; Derwort, et al., 2018; Jose, 2010; Esmark, 2009; Morrell, 2009; Lemke, 2007). “

African indigenous systems of governance have remained prey to tradition, Western labeling, colonization, as well as African nostalgia. The overall result has been that African systems of governance have been slurred and reduced to the footnotes of serious academic discourse... socioeconomic environments, so too in traditional African societies do we find a great variety of political systems within relatively close proximity to one another. It is this very diversity that is of great significance in understanding African political philosophy. (Asimeng-Boahene, 2017)

Indeed, in SSA studies, statistic-derived reports are substantial however consumers' perspectives and values as determinant in the food system are limited³²⁸. That is particularly the case in Togo. As individual liberty, wellbeing does not only involve multiple meanings in different societies. It considerably relates to the multifaceted concept of justice and fairness in governance. As Bratton and Rothchild (1992:265) stress that effective local governance "depends on the legitimacy derived from broad based participation, fairness and accountability". The idea of justice is center to the thesis as

³²⁸ “While the evolution of the administrative superstructure in advanced capitalist nations has been consistent with their historical changes in societal realms such as the mode of production, class relations, political structure, cultural beliefs and behavioural patterns, the formation of an administrative superstructure in third world countries took place in isolation from their indigenous contextual realities.” Haque emphasized (1996).

Common sense, as Giere (1999) put it, must exist between theory and world. That is, both must be inter-explanatory because of their interdependence. The gap between them should be focus even if it require an entire new model to explain the world.

many societal notions gravitate around it. These include terminologies as rights, duties, criticism, corruption, nepotism, authority, accessibility to knowledge as the instrument of power, etc. There can be confusion and frustration regarding access to and expressions of liberty when remnants of precolonial laws conflict with western postcolonial ideologies. In the Togolese society it is necessary to debate what ‘public good’ means and how power divides individuals, communities and the state in a way that results in flaws in governance or failure in implementing reforms. Indeed, as stated before in the grey literature review, verbal customary laws prevailing over official western-based laws and governmental establishments are often reinterpreted by local chiefs one-sidedly reinforces confusion, injustice and the exclusion of certain individuals. Weber (1994 [1897:108-321) stated: “Classes, status groups and parties are phenomena of the distribution of power within a community... The knowledge of social laws is not knowledge of social reality but is rather one of the various aids used by our minds for attaining this end ". Indeed, the breach of conduct guidelines are unclear, inaccessible or unverifiable by the poor, or illiterate or most vulnerable stakeholders. Such ideological conflicts and symbolic representation are not trivial and have serious implications for governance (Akan, 2017; Lievens, 2014; Ocheje, 2007; Okafor and Quashigah, 1999).

People’s ability to generate a livelihood or increase their assets depends on their access to productive resources and their ability to control and use resources effectively. Access depends, in turn, on participation in a variety of social institutions, as well as on material wealth and market transactions.
(Berry, 1989:41)

The United Nations (2007) report on African traditional institutions highlighted the two main classification of African traditional institutions in post-colonial literature: (a) the consensus-based systems of the decentralized pre-colonial political systems; and (b) chieftaincy of the centralized political systems. In the largest spread is the decentralized³²⁹

³²⁹ “Based on respect for the rights and views of the individual, as individuals can veto the opinions of the majority. However, individuals are also expected to respect the wishes and interests of the community by accepting compromises, as they can face various forms of community censure, including social isolation, if they fail to do so.” (UN, 2007)

authority systems in which decision-making is generally slow, since consensus-building is a time-consuming process. The centralized³³⁰ systems of governance with kings and monarchs characterized by a great deal of autonomy at the bottom despite centralization at the top. However there is a debate as the relevance of African traditional institutions in governance (ibid.). There are those who contest its relevance by arguing that 1) they reduce the relevance of state social services that chieftaincy which hereditary principle is in itself against democratic governance has been corrupted by the colonial State and clientelism of the despotic post-colonial State while 3) people live as subjects rather than citizens. A polar view is “that traditional institutions are indispensable for political transformation in Africa, as they represent a major part of the continent’s history, culture, and political and governance systems.” Then, the more balanced view acknowledges the limits of traditional institutions but believe that through chieftaincy a mixed governance reflective of political/cultural identity, values and philosophy can be built to defend communities’ interests. This last views meets the thesis’ standpoint.

Dewey’s emphasis on practical situations resonate as a wake-up call. History, as Dewey and Hegel suggest can be a tool for understanding certain events, not for speculating about origins. This is especially the case for Togo when the origin of society is difficult to determine given the complex precolonial/postcolonial spectrum grounded in coexisting but dissimilar political philosophies. Failure then translates as a materialization of the opposition between actions and instincts. The ill-suitability of postcolonial education and evolving regional needs in a globalized world can illustrates this. In face of institutional challenges, many studies have already drawn attention on research universities as efficient actors in the governance of local development (Goldstein and Glaser, 2010). Indeed, prior to Marco-economic consolidation, a research paper by the University of Kara

³³⁰ “Composed largely of members of the nobility or close relatives of the chiefs. There were, however, various informal mechanisms that also fostered accountability. The ability of common people to shift their allegiance away from a despotic chief to other chiefs was, for instance, an important mechanism that mitigated the autocratic tendencies of chiefs.” (ibid.)

(northern Togo) prioritized the consolidation of peace and social stability, improvement of governance and strengthening of institutional capacity (Ayenagbo et al., 2013). The gains are economic but also environmental. “Make the local people partners; give them an incentive to be stewards and guards of the reserve. Train them to be guides and resident wildlife experts” (Wilson, 2002:168) says.

Indeed, Togolese society’s paradox in view of dichotomies and dualities/coherences with contractarian, utilitarian and pragmatist interpretive theories as well as the lack of philosophical knowledge justify the pertinence of philosophical inquiry³³¹ along with practical onsite experiences.

In closing philosophical and ideological interpretations of society assist the abductive analysis of problems at their root. Togo’s diverse cultural sensitivities and linkages to the greater post-colonial governmental establishments was a relevant case to focus on.

Conclusion

The conceptual framework chapter summarize the study background and motivation from an academic and emotional standpoints. The research problematics were highlighted through the establishment of the importance of the topic and qualitative methodological approaches. These involve historical and contextual analysis of data obtained through a moderate interaction with participants from a critical, post-structuralist and pragmatic position. The relationships between the food production-consumption system and the health costs linked to diet at the individual and institutional levels are made explicit through links established from the review of pertinent literature and cross-sectoral analysis of meta-data from the food and health industries and civil society. With the hope

³³¹ Reportedly, three factors explain the lack of referral to traditional institution (UN, 2007): 1) failure of scholars to differentiate between the role and behaviour of actors who exercise authority and the aspects of traditional institutions that refer to customary laws, political values, and rules that govern socioeconomic interaction, 2) failure of scholars to differentiate between the various forms of chieftaincy and governance practices at different levels within the hierarchy of chieftaincy; 3) the complexity of the study of traditional institutions since the nature of chieftaincy varies significantly across geographic areas, the findings of ethnographic studies on the role and behaviour of chiefs also vary widely.

to stimulate new in-depth and country-specific approaches to the studies of food challenges in small SSA economies, the methodology involved talk provoking dialogues with the local consumers and suppliers of food and healthcare. The selected literacies concern governance which assist discussion on the Togolese food value chain governance in particular as well as Global value chain theory implications and government role in food security and safety challenges. The population theories that encompass family systems and fertility theories were linked to food supply availability in the face of socio-demographic transition and the fast growing Togolese population. The Malthusian and Cornucopian frameworks helps the dialectical discussion that confirm the need to consider cultural distinctiveness and peculiarity of contexts which holds the key to the success or failure of policies as the green revolution. The philosophical framework covered different perspectives on social discourse and their pertinence in governance profile, individual liberty, power balance between traditional institution and colonial or western-based government paradigm supposedly in effect. Grand theories through interpretation help reconcile empirical data and existing literature. A wealth of understandings contributed to making sense of certain opaque statistics.

Chapter 6. Conclusion and recommendations

Although healthy nutrition has no cultural boundaries, it cannot be approached without taking into account cultural distinctiveness. As such, this thesis questions the relevance of further investigation into how specific dietary patterns influence economic welfare. Sub-Saharan Africa is a region with a large spectrum of cultures which diversity, strength and weaknesses are not all perceivable by the foreign eye. The research has indeed emphasized peculiarity through the case study of a small Sub-Saharan Africa state: Togo.

Togo is among countries experiencing the fastest growing population and extremely weak agricultural productivity now exacerbated by recent climatic shocks. Projected climate scenarios reveal that Togo is located in an area that is to experience sharp drops in rainfall and increase in temperature with adverse impacts on agricultural productivity and the well-being of rural populations. Yet, 65% of the population is involved in agricultural activity, mainly subsistence agriculture. The challenge is in the years to come as the country becomes increasingly dependent on food imports. In fact, demands are amplified by the rapid population growth and socio-demographic transition. With 8.082 million people in 2018 the population is projected to double in 2050 creating serious food challenges. Without espousing Malthusian alarmism, high fertility rates in Togo at a time when agricultural productivity is low raises questions about supply and the well-being of future generations.

Different channels of influence are identified in the research, namely health implications of diet, productivity of the governance system, food security in relation to population growth and social psychology in terms of social discourse and food perception. Indeed, diet which mirrors food production and preservation patterns has through health costs, large-scale socio-economic consequences. From the perspective that dietary patterns have socio-cultural origins and implications, challenges must be investigated from the food system

governance angle. The effects of family norms, gender role, of socio-demographic transition on fertility rate level or food supply, and perception on food types are equally pertinent. As societies, diet evolves and relates to numerous environmental variables. When these variables lapse, one option is to let society evolve its own way regardless of changes in the international environment. Another viewpoint is to rethink and adapt those variables in order to survive in the new competitive global configuration(s). This highlights the debate on how general food system governance guidelines are applicable in Togolese socio-cultural constructs and discourse. From a cultural pragmatist perspective, to be effective policy must avoid conflict with culture by integrating traditional norms unless culture undergoes profound changes to fit a foreign governance system. However, beside the influence of the physical environment (topography or climate), the risk of losing cultural essence exists. That is, losing what defines populations' historical identity. Indeed, norms bond with individuals' needs within specific environments. If their exclusion can create instability in the success of reforms, it appears essential to work with them, rather than without or against them.

The balanced position is that beyond natural mutation, in Togo certain norms can be reconsidered through a symbiotic relationship between the postcolonial western-based governance of the Togolese republic and tradition-integrated institutional governance. This viewpoint oriented the choice of a phenomenological and critical analysis lacking in the existing empirical literature. The methodologies used are critical ethnography and alethic hermeneutics which highlight anthropology, social psychology and historical context. Additionally, through interaction with participants in-depth insights were provided.

The food system in Togo is strongly influenced by spatial, historical and infrastructural imbalance involved with regions' geographical location and postcolonial history. By and large, the data collected portray a society built on strong distinct cultural philosophies.

These, from a utilitarian reasoning, are driven by the impact of the physical environment on history. Analysis suggests that food in Togo involves strong cultural, metaphysical, historical, geographical and political factors. It is the case for many countries in SSA and around the globe but the Togolese society reflects the peculiar legacies of a particular pre-colonial and postcolonial history. Political inclinations, mindsets, or family/household configurations all comprise mixtures of multiple colonial imprints and tribal habits. These evolve and assert themselves in strong identities. This was true in the colonial aftermath and remains so today although cultural identity and community affiliation increasingly appear to be overridden by financial power in the globalized and internet era. Reportedly, Togolese historically vote for or against political parties, not ideas or projects. Likewise political parties have thrived on cultural passions and antagonisms as an end goal. Seemingly the trend is reversing with rising personal interests.

The history of the country's colonial construction depicts a cultural and political patchwork, rather than a multicultural fusion. The numerous land demarcations operated successively by three colonial powers (Germany, France and Britain) settled the power imbalances between different cultural groups. Language, norms, habits were used as mold to transform the society in the image of different dominating powers within different timeframes. The absence of consensus among the groups on the terms of the land demarcation and adhesion/representation of all cultural groups in the institutional structure as designed to govern the entire land fated Togo to social unrest.

German reprisals against Versailles illustrate possible outcomes unilateral rulings without the involvement of the main users of the rulings. In the specific case of Togo, reprisals expressed among cultural groups in the colonial aftermath.

As for other African nations, Togo's geographic boundaries were first established in 1885 at the Berlin Conference in 1884-1885. The conference redrew the map of the continent to radically change the fate of its peoples. Togo, a German colony underwent a second savage

dismantling after the first world war when Germany's assets including its colonies were divided between Great Britain and France at the Versailles Treaty. Reprisals were then expressed among the main communities, each seeking supremacy. This contributed to fierce political clashes that divide the country and nurtured unequal access and distribution of natural resources as land.

History also created disparities in diet due to early familiarity with foreign foodstuffs and new agricultural techniques depending on where communities were located. Southern diets include more European food than northern diets as entrance to the country occurred through the harbors of the southern coastline. This already distinguishes Togo from another French colony of Burkina Faso which is landlocked.

Modes of thought/governance induced by social psychology are indicative when, in a formal workplace, individuals prioritize community values over commercial objectives. This contradicts the values of the Western-based business environments supposedly in effect. It is also indicative of tensions between passions, convictions, traditions and moralities, not between individuals and morality alone. Provided the circumstances, how does Kant's categorical imperative ethics apply in an ideologically fragmented context? This creates frustrations and distrust in the postcolonial nationalist administrative system in which all individuals are supposedly subject to the same rights and duties. Indeed, the transposal of tribal priorities often comes into conflict with nationalist expectations and frustrations take over because, as Socrates put it, personal satisfaction is perceptible through the happiness or unhappiness of the individual. Aristotle talked of or practical wisdom and Plato of courage, temperance, prudence and most importantly justice. Investigating the socio-psychological profile of individuals proves to be necessary for grasping the feelings and social phenomena that guide behaviors and actions. In Togo, the feeling of underestimation and exclusion followed by frustration are often expressed through isolation, retaliation or desertion. As an example, the massive brain-drain harms the

nation in terms of agricultural development, healthcare as the youth departs when nepotism outshines skills. Furthermore, from a Hegelian standpoint, the exposure of Togolese youth to the globalized world through the media, the Internet, trips, visiting tourists, makes them snub local food and no longer see a prosperous future in agricultural work. The opportunity of an education or the chance to leave the country for a better life are increasingly appealing options. Emigration affect all the branches of the society including the healthcare sector. The low public health status is exacerbated by the limited number of physicians able to cope with illnesses, some of which are due to unhealthy / unbalanced nutritional habits and lack of nutritional knowledge. The cost of these diseases is not only linked to the high treatment costs but also to the cost of refusing medical treatment due to financial incapacity. Substitute solutions as data show often are the use of imported cheap hazardous counterfeit medication or inefficient alternative routes of healing as spiritual healers.

Outlooks on food insecurity and health nutrition as symptoms of historical, socio-cultural and political inputs should therefore not be discounted. Indeed, political tensions between the leading regions of the two blocks, north and south nurtured suspicion amongst citizens regarding resources distribution. Because of ethnic favoritism tangled with normalized corruptive practices, many are raised with the fatalistic idea that the inalterability of discourse and practices leaves limited options: leave in an attempt to find a better life elsewhere or adapt and accept daily fights and survival. Rural youth continue to widen agricultural labor gap due to mass emigration to cities. As the voice of the most vulnerable (women and children) is considered undervalued, the country become deprived of new and diversified perspectives. Rampant corruption, cultural nepotism, poor governance of the food system, poor investments in food crops, a lack of nutrition knowledge and expertise in new technologies as well as poor transportation and agricultural infrastructures were identified through the research as fuel to dietary gaps undermining the human capital.

Analysis also underscores the standpoint of many Togolese who see in food's nutritional qualities rich societies' problem. That is, fulfilling hunger needs are sufficient. Throughout the research, skepticism was clearly noticeable in the sense that being able to choose one's food was perceived as a luxury. Focus is primarily on product availability and financial accessibility. Participants mentioned being only be able to purchase what the market offers. Simply put, dietary patterns are limited by product's availability on the market and financial capacity rather than a conscious nutritional choice. The economic upturn across the last ten years has increased the gap between poor and rich. However, the rich have the means to stock up on food during periods of abundance whereas the poor live one day at a time. The national food bank stockpiles food during abundance periods in order to allow poorer households to be able to purchase food during scarce times at affordable prices. This certainly counts as progress.

The land topographic and climatic dissimilarities also shape the cultural landscape. Habits such as eating frequency and diet reflect the surroundings. In the north for instance, the frequency of meals consumed per day diminishes during the long dry season as compared to the rest of the year. Liquids as the local beer are valued to hydrate the body and meals are generally preferred warm while the weather is cooler. The south has an advantage in terms of its alternating seasons comprising of two dry and two rainy seasons. This supports a greater diversity of product availability throughout the year. Furthermore, the bordering sea is a boon for the south in terms of fish and is a perfect economic platform for trade through the seaways. The capital city of Togo Lomé and its trading cities as well as the Ghanaian capital to the west and the Beninese capital to the east are all located on the same Atlantic coastline all contribute to the economy of the south of Togo. In the poorest rural areas located mostly in the north, farming is widespread but the main issues are hygiene and parasitic diseases from polluted water as stated by the ministry of health representative who participated in the research. Imports are more

expensive due to the additional transport costs from the south, and lower social standards. Furthermore, due to the single rainy season, the rainwater is a vector of disease diffusion. The second half of the year is dominated by a dry season during which accessibility to food, especially fruits is harder.

Topographic disparities also contribute to divergent historical experiences of the north and the south in terms of their relationship to the Western world. Dietary patterns have been greatly impacted as the southern harbors were first introduced to non-local food as manufactured foodstuffs which became part of the national diets. This contributed in a higher consumption, of imported food in the south. To this day, imported manufactured foods are perceived as superior to the detriment of local agriculture. This presents a threat to biodiversity which so far participated in the food landscape. Despite some recent positive progress, because northerners and rural dwellers have historically interacted less with outside communities, their customs are often regarded as regressed.

If the argument of hindering customs holds to some extent, it remains the case nevertheless that such thinking has caused a drastic shifts towards unhealthy eating patterns amongst the rich and the recently financially emancipated. The increase in imported food, unhealthy according to several local health professionals, on an open market with authorized informal markets has changed the Togolese food landscape. Today more 'sophisticated' or 'advanced' eating habits are sought. Intriguingly enough, with the advent of the internet and exposure to other food types marketed through the media such an ideology has no ethnic boundaries. The existing polarization of local and import products are extended to food. As such, there is food for the rich and food for the poor. The image of local culture as archaic and degrading the consumption of traditional dishes, for example, is symptomatic of this. With the growing popularity and affordability of imported foodstuffs, the unattractiveness of local produce also grows. As the agricultural sector lacks incentives for youth, the nutritional situation of the country continues to deteriorate

through an unhealthy dependence on imports. Hence the unattractiveness and undervaluation of agricultural work due to the social image of local food and low investments in food crops lock the country into a search for a superior social paradigm.

Norms and values in relation to family configuration also have implications in terms of antagonism between supply availability and mouths to feed. Indeed, the thesis emphasized family and population theories. The former relates to familiarity with food shaped by the environments families originate from and currently live in. The latter relates to the roles of the notion and size of family in the accessibility to food. This integrates gender roles and family supply management in the specific context of Togo. Indeed, gender, age, occupation, education levels and marital status are influential in modern food cultures. Gender role plays an important part in dietary patterns as broadly, main household decisions including birth control and diet reflect the man's preferences. The family typology involves traditional and mythical dimensions. In Togo polygamous marriage is only legal for men and extramarital relationships are tolerated for men. In certain households, the food fund provider, usually a man is the main decision maker. In rare cases where the woman is the provider, the male mate still guides the meal choice. This creates a social imbalance in terms of dietary needs for the financially vulnerable, children, or those in the household with fragile constitution or in need of specific dietary care. Children, the young and women rarely make decisions and are considered tools rather than intelligent beings capable of offering valuable opinions. Education is a priority for boys whereas girls' education and knowledge of good dietary practices could benefit households in the future in terms of diminishing health costs. Indeed, women are both in charge of cooking and responsible for children's education.

Besides the clear topographic and climatic disparities highlighted between the north and the south, the recent rise of middle social classes have deepened inequalities and induced unhealthy dietary practices. Financial motives more than ever before continue to surpass

other criteria in food choices. Taste and quantity override quality, and financial means are the final determinants of what people eat. Financial status, according to the findings is a primary deterrent to the excessive consumption of imported manufactured foods including frozen meat or fish and oil-rich/ sweet foods. Such foods often escape control by authorities and their traceability and storage practices are both dubious. This creates more vulnerability around imported adulterated products such as sugar and milk powder, flavor enhancers and processed foods rich in sugar, fat and salt, of which most escape control or are subject to bribes of control agents. Expiry date frauds are also a concern. The widespread informal sector has made it easy for street medication vendors to sell illegal imported products including food and cleaning products.

In light of economic emancipation, and the rise of a middle class, the part of imported manufactured good increases in diet expose populations to non-communicable diseases as diabetes and cardiovascular diseases. Regarding disease treatment, the poor's health is aggravated by street medicines used in self-medication and by consulting unreliable spiritual healers and herbalists who remain more affordable than modern physicians. These hazardous proceedings preclude the investment of large amounts of time and money in consultations, and expensive checkups and prescription pharmaceutical treatments. Beyond prohibitive financial motives, the social psychology on the mystical and traditional aspects of illnesses are determinant. Most Togolese consult both modern and traditional healers, even those with high academic education. The health threat is a reality that health professionals are worried about.

The rise in cases of complex diseases have been observed by insurance companies and health professionals although no empirical study has yet determined the part of genetics and dietary behaviors. The lack of knowledge on the adverse effects of street medications, spiritual healers and herbalists, and of nutritional knowledge with regards to how food shapes mental and physical health is unknown. By extension, the financial costs of

contracting chronic nutrition related health problems are unknown. Regulations are seldom enforced and populations have preconceptions about food quality based on the shared set of cultural assumptions.

The thesis concedes that designating certain aspects of social norms as dysfunctional is a subjective appreciation. The fact that some participants see in nutritional knowledge irrelevant in improving their condition suggests that they consider nutrition-focused societies to live in a web of falsified needs. In a way, such views support Spinoza's conception of perfection which lies in reality and the wrong and the good that naturally exist. Attempts to alter such a reality will degrade it. Indeed, norms are firstly functional before becoming part of cultural identity. They are protective and oppressive through abuse when the legal framework rule discriminatorily from the viewpoint of citizens.

The research suggests, that participants, in a utilitarian sense, do not support the ideas that they do not feel engaged with. The interviews however show that although some participants are attached to traditional values, there is an interest in more nutritional knowledge for better nutritional practices. Others are not convinced that such knowledge matters, empowers them and engages them enough to motivate an imminent will of becoming active transformers of the societal paradigm/governance that undermine food productivity.

Beyond food sovereignty, there is an imbalance of power in an economically emancipating nation. In a changing world with fast eroding resources and population growth, Togo has to assure its survival on the international scene. To this end, the health of its human capital is compulsory. Where, for most people, curing is more costly than prevention, the latter becomes more obvious as a solution, especially for the most vulnerable and poor households. Endemic and pandemic brain-drain continues to deplete human capital as highly skilled physicians, graduates, lawyers, computer scientists or teachers amongst other competences continue to depart the country. Even though the thesis does not expand

on the poor conditions of healthcare in Togo, such conditions are noteworthy from an economic standpoint and symptomatic of problems in dietary patterns. If people are economic assets, especially in an agrarian economy such as Togo, they might as well be productive to the maximum of their mental and physical aptitudes. In that sense, food productivity and quality are critical. Nutrition, as a preventive solution is an old concept that remains salient because it is universal.

Nutrition education, family planning, active involvement in value chain governance among other measures therefore become pertinent angles of attack. However, raising awareness on these topics may be ineffective in: financially constrained environments, when markets offer a limited range of food products, or when consumers have no leverage on the market. In terms of agricultural productivity, prior to financial, material or intellectual assistance (i.e. subsidies, investments in new technologies and techniques) the emancipation of people regardless of gender and age is determinant. This entails enabling the expression of positive individual liberties and critical thinking in order to induce creativity/innovation which reflect and respond to the real social needs (Boserup's point). In fact, children often represent additional income for the household through their work rather than intellectual assets for the nation.

The economy is predominantly informal and business ventures start out with help from relatives and individual farmer-decision making is prevalent. This can evolve through macro-level aggregate and synergetic actions that target investments in major food crops, modernization of equipment or cropping systems in ways that benefit local cultivators and populations throughout the land. For this to be realizable and sustainable, the social psychology of organizational patterns must be acted upon collectively by integrating a substantial part of the population. As major players in policy implementation/success, consumers can gain leverage on the food market by participating in value chain supply. Indeed, through awareness of future food challenges and health nutrition, populations

could reconcile with local produce shifting from the dependence on imports towards new means of developing traditional cultures. This however is achieved cautiously as to avoid clash between intrinsic traditional values and modern governance. That is, the essence of models holding the society together must be preserved while prioritizing for instance competence over cultural preferentialism as to achieve the common goal of national welfare and individual wellbeing. The situation of Togo call for meta-structural actions on synthesized individual and agencies expectations as to reconcile the traditional and industrialized modern worlds constructively and productively.

The right incentives require the right comprehension(s) of the motives of individuals. Accordingly, the human angle is key. Along with identifying long-term solutions such as reversing the rural exodus to increase agricultural productivity, short-term diet solutions are also crucial. Food perception, productivity and accessibility are the key highlights of the findings above. This explains the qualitative investigation of specific economic implications for cultural dietary behaviors that has formed the basis of this thesis.

Overall, this study on Togo merits consideration when it comes to orienting actions. The study contributes in valuable ways to the economic literature of small economies such as Togo. In view of the findings, its economic related findings appear to reveal deeper social realities. Knowledge, self-awareness, self-confidence, and trust and harmony between community/individual liberties and public restrictions are necessary to engage effective action. Statistics in themselves neither explicitly nor implicitly explain the voluntary, involuntary, material or immaterial mechanisms which create them. Pursuing immersion in the research, however with a certain distance with participants help understand dietary patterns behind food statistical reports. The aim of a qualitative reading of a statistical fact is to focus on managing the source in a way that creates positive outcomes. The essential notion of time underpins each stage of this investigation into specific dietary behaviors and their implications for the economy. Topography, history and culture are

considered here to be explanatory, codependent and mutually nurturing as outlined in the overviews of the key findings. Such insights emphasize a need for considering social inputs in the food economy and development model through qualitative approaches. Analogically to Togo, geographic and economic size should not limit in-depth scrutiny but on the contrary requires closer attention due to the lack of financial and material capacity of small economies to execute extensive research. The goal is to reach more pertinent angle of attack of food problems and induce effective and efficient actions.

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Appendices and annexes

Appendix a-The road ahead | Recommendations

The issues outlined earlier are challenging but make room for opportunities to:

- Shift emphasis in research to the root causes of food issues through increased focus on values, beliefs, traditional institutions and norms. This entails questioning what is important to people and how they define wellbeing and progress with regards to their local realities and exposition to globalization. Thus further avenues of qualitative country –specific research are suggested as preliminary to efficient policy formulation.
- Develop policies that prioritize research and development around local resources and domestic needs.
- Focus primarily on local food crops investments rather than commercial crops as coffee, cotton or cocoa. Food crops represent investments in health and human capital towards future productive and sustainable agricultural and economic wealth.
- Engage populations by creating awareness on future food challenges and food imports' unreliability and quality problems in order to effect changes in the supply chains.
- Launch a gradual metamorphosis of unhealthy dietary habits by sensitizing at the community level on the long term financial impacts of eating behaviors.
- Develop nutrition awareness as a preventive solution to diseases as to limit health spending and maintain the economic status of households healthy.
- Promote local products and agricultural work through significant investments that suit incentives.
- Limit food imports and enforce their control while investing in agricultural infrastructure as transportation infrastructures.

- Introduce an enforceable federal framework for certain delicate foodstuffs (informal fresh and ready-to eat food vendors). Through varied media backings, encourage nationwide collaboration between agriculture workers, fresh food vendors other operators of the civil society, and populations via information exchanges on the real difficulties experienced by each community; in short find ways to create constructive empathy among the different cultural groups professional and interpersonally.
- Eliminate competing/conflicting interests by aggregating land workers into defending a common cause regardless of cultural background.
- Balance actions between the different social sectors: state, health and food industry stakeholders and private citizens' expectations and objectives in policy formulation. This requires a governance that involves public participation in ways that do not compete/conflict with traditional institutions but complete them in the new and highly competitive global economy. Inter-sectoral cooperation may also help enforce control of illicit medication and quality of food available on market. This may include for instance better control of expiry dates on imported manufactured goods, storage of frozen food by vendors, or sale of illicit medications that treat symptoms but not diseases.
- Togo can go further³³² in the emancipation women and the youth by letting them voice their perspectives as additional human and intelligence capital because the country will need everyone to economically recover and prosper. If enabled those considered weak links could gain confidence will not only increase the national capital, but emancipate them materially toward making their own choices including dietary ones.
- Build trust to enhance country's attractiveness to investors (national, foreign and diaspora). Capitalize on recent NGOs' aids and exploit findings through strict planning, monitoring and maintenance as well as automatic follow up on spending. In

³³² Inclusive mechanisms as the National fund for inclusive Finance (FNFI) and the National Agency for Promotion and Guarantee of SME/SMI Financing (ANPGF) that were set up by the government led to a significant increase in the creation of firms with about direct and indirect 4000 jobs and the promotion of women and young entrepreneurs was increased from 20% to 25% in 2019 (IMF, 2019).

other words, establish a system of funds traceability with the control of independent periodic quality assessment officers.

- Build a clean reputation for Togo because land and businesses developments must have a set of clear laws (traditional, modern or both mutually integrated) which cannot be mitigated but understood and accessible to all (e.g. court appointed-lawyer). This will also encourage personal and foreign investments in need to trust the judiciary system in place. Administratively, acts of corruption must be legally enforceable. A variable-geometry system (allowing flexibility between western-based and traditional laws) clearly stated in writing, having proven functional, and consultable by all should prevail uncompromisingly.

Appendix b- Challenges

In view of future food security pressures, in order to carry weight internationally functional policies need to be developed through a joint approach. Indeed it becomes increasingly urgent to have cohesive strategies that improve all actors' conditions (both consumer and food industry private and state agencies). Cooperation, interactions and synergy of among all actors in both cities and rurality are to provide basis for highlighting real challenges on-field. Thus all counterparts must unite around shared and interconnected interests. Succeeding at this requires sufficient organization built on a strong engaged membership and maintained linkages. Although there is room for opportunities mentioned earlier, several challenges may rise:

- Lack of financial and material capacity at the state level to execute extensive research and challenge in convincing international agencies to invest in such types of inquiry.
- Whilst financial status guides diet, both the rich and the poor are experience the same food market reality. The nature of food available on the market is more determinant in diet than individual's convictions on food-health relationships. Intervention of the state is

therefore needed to influence safe product availability, affordability and perceptions on types of foods (local vs import/ fresh vs processed).

- The research has showed that food is broadly a basic need to fulfill. As such, from moment the minimum quantity and taste expected are met at a given time, any other issue addressed on food is irrelevant or considered 'rich people's problem'.

- Try and build conviction in people as way to promote healthier diets is a too large mission, particularly in the short-term. The old say that 'you can lead a horse to water but you cannot make it drink' resonates with changing perceptions. Food habits are instilled through ongoing processes from birth to adulthood in a specific historical and media environments.

- Realizing how urgent the independence on food safety/security is for their future, individuals are likely to take food issues differently. But how does one achieve successfully such conviction in people remain a critical point. How to motivate everyone involved in the emergency that has become food sovereignty is challenging in that it requires everyone to identify and understand personal (not national) interests at stake. In fact, due to the sentiment of non-belonging caused by a perceived abandonment of certain citizens by the country, patriotism is a weak argument.

- Food sovereignty must become imperative in terms of food security and food/nutritional safety in order to ensure healthy and successful people and secure a better future for generations to come. In an increasingly resource-restraint world, those with commonalities are likely to primarily stick together due to the common cultural grounds they connect/identify themselves with. Hence, it is equally important to retain brains by reminding to all through actions that their country is theirs (not owned by an elite). Incentives made available for public consumption may trigger change when personal interests are at stake. Clarifications are needed as to the interrelationships between the economic implications of food at the individual and state levels. Indeed, national food

issues presents a risk of dependency, thus vulnerability on the now forceful global chessboard. This threatens cultural identity by extension, hence the requisite of public awareness on how food has become a competitive advantage.

- Given the Togolese context, the strategy for retaining brain could start the eradication of corruption, nepotism, wages stagnation while prices increase, and social injustice which all lead brain-drain and illegal parallel businesses to survive and thrive. Actually, the parallel markets of cheap food and medicine in fact is fruitful as the population under the poverty line is nearly 55%. The poor nurturing such markets will later face the unaffordable cost of those products' side-effects. Given the powerful networks that have settled around the informal nature of trade, corruption and social injustice will be hard to control/eradicate and law hard to enforce at all stages of every illicit network. Indeed, the term "informal business" has been so bandied around that it has become confused with "illicit business". Informal business in Togo refers to relational business built on trust, confidence, reciprocity built over years and sometimes generations. Formal laws being mainly relevant for formal businesses, a formal framework adjusted to the local context is pertinent but complex to elaborate and enforced given the poor awareness of legal codes.

- Whereas the country needs to attract investors, managing the limitations of imports and triggering effective control are very ambitious, difficult to realize as there could be staffing difficulties with regards to the number of agents necessary to control all borders in addition to the existing viral corruption issues among agents.

- Increase living standards through the empowerment of agricultural workers in order to create expertise and halt the agricultural world's extinction in Togo (infrastructure and education on the implementations of projects, maintenance of equipment's and sustainability techniques, local production of land safe fertilizers, etc.). As matter of fact the lack of incentives has contributed in making the youth leave villages for the town reducing family farms' subsistence productions which surpluses are usually sold on

markets. Environmentally threatening practices as excessive farming practices or coal production result in fatigued and less productive soils digging deeper aid dependence as well as the indebtedness of the country to its importers. However these practices cannot be easily changed given the lack of alternatives.

- Adapt learning system to actual and practical need for subsistence growers. The goal is to enable them rapidly toward the growth of agricultural productivity, expand and develop their communities economically by familiarizing them with new material requires a minimum literacy if only for the instructions for use. It is equally challenging today to find efficient and implementable ways to maintain the youth in the agricultural world by for instance reconciling citizens with local products, giving farmers incentives as land, materials (fertilizers, seeds, etc.), intelligence (training to modern techniques, etc.).
- Bringing the place of women and youth at the discussion table in a non-didactic way is not an easy task even though women through their social position can positively affect education, family planning, birth control, etc. For many that will equal to questioning cultural identity and degrading cultural heritage.
- Finding honest solutions and independent parties for the management of funds to be injected entirely, efficiently in infrastructure needs and projects development not only to concretize project but also reassure and encourage potential investors in further projects. But being monitored might not be approved by locals and can even been viewed as degrading.
- Cultural constraints in the professional environment will be hindering if management is entirely left entirely to locals (assignment of shores, and responsibilities on the basis of competence instead of nepotism or age or gender hierarchy). Introducing a computerized independent system of assignment might not be welcome.

Annex a- The local lexicon

Context is by essence the bedrock in qualitative studies. This annex aim to provide contextual understandings of certain terminologies.

Ethnicity, a local understanding: The term is widely used in Togo (noticeably not as in the meaning of “caste” but of “tribes”). Rather the main term used locally in French: “ethnie” originates from the French colonial era. It was used to designate local cultural groups. However the intents behind its uses are now divergent with regards to the local meaning and meaning anthropologists generally assign to it. Through the interviews, the word seem to implicate, or even reclaim the sense of belonging or identification to a unique tribe. It refers to the local/ community identity of cultural groups with ideological frontiers which involve the notions of language, mores, historicity (pre/post-colonial constructions), economy, religious and ideological and religious heritage/beliefs. The terms here is purposefully used as to highlight the different local identities and their interactions while trying not to dwell on the cultural edges. Hence ethnic groups are here groupings of historical entities evolving, deconstructing in constructivist terms as opposed to the structural notions widely used by anthropologists, media or certain studies.

Local food production: primarily refers to indigenous crops produced onsite. 90% of the agricultural productions is for domestic use (cassava, yams, corn, millet, sorghum) and produced by subsistence farmers. Cash crops (about 40% of export) are primarily cotton, then cocoa and coffee (traditionally the major cash crops till late 1980s and late 1990s (IBPUSA, 2009), and palm oil to a lesser extent. Among the food crops destined to domestic use, millet is often brewed into the traditional local beer. Many dishes are considered local on the basis that they are cooked as per local recipes, yet ingredients used are neither local, nor fresh agricultural products. Cash crops are dispersed as according to the international business report (2009) cotton was estimated to be farmed by approximately 18500 landholders). The agriculture sector employs about 65% of the population (55.1% of total population live under the poverty line in 2015) and since it affects a broad spectrum of the population, rural populations are the most dependent on cash crops to personally finance fertilizers and others necessities of their food crops production.

Corn/maize: When asked, it is the first cereal that comes to mind to the Togolese. Corn is cited as the country’s staple food and rudimentary in the nutrition of any “real” Togolese. Originally, the staple food is cornmeal (corn kernel dried and ground into a fine texture), then boiled and cooked into a thick or mild-thick porridge. Even though corn was only introduced by Portuguese crusaders in the 15th century, this national porridge is the widest spread dish in Togo. It is a basic in the collective mind (not to say the national mind) despite ethnic and topographic disparities and social inequalities. Its consumption is economic and faster to realize than other sorts of Togolese corn porridges, therefore accessible to all social classes.

Alterations in the kernel transformation process justify the distinctions in name, texture and taste of the different Togolese porridge types. Altered manipulations to the basic process may include the dried kernel- instead of being ground immediately into flour- is partially or totally de-germinated (removal of oily germ), skinned, watered, and fermented in order to be transformed into the substance (flour, salty, sweet or sour dough) needed to specifically make the expected deviated version. As said the most used version is the original eaten by all Togolese prior the later derivatives. Today the original porridge’s consumption frequency is higher in northern regions, rural and poor households because the kernel is used entirely with no starch loss in the watering process or oily germs and bran removed. The kernel used in its entirety is therefore more nutritious,

presents no waste, especially when the soup served with it is mainly made of vegetables and little to no meat in precarious households. Vegetable soups (various leaves and pepper) are served with the porridge along with (when possible and affordable) dried/fresh/smoked fish or poultry/cattle meat (bought, animals bred at home or wildfowl in rural zones). Soups are various and can be served interchangeably with all corn porridge versions unless individuals have made a habit of principally eating certain specific types with specific soups.

As Togolese staple food, other sorts of cereals preceded corn (i.e. fonio mill, millet, and sorghum) corn (introduced by European crusaders). Today, the cooking of these West African cereals is marginal in comparison to corn. Though they still are consumed in parts of the northern regions where the introduction of corn came much later after the introduction of new grains and tubers by Europeans through the southern harbors. Some financially challenged households in the north maintain the consumption of the old grains especially when for diverse reasons (i.e. climatic hazards, etc.) corn harvests are deceitful. Furthermore, many eat it by habits or preference due to their perceptual attachment to the taste of such cereals from childhood on. Rice that is now partially produced locally has slowly been replacing corn these last years in the middle to rich class households, particularly in the south (the capital city precisely) through which new foodstuffs firstly enter the country.

Tubers and plantains: Are also meant by local food, plantains and roots/ tubers (e.g. cassava, yams, taro, sweet potatoes, etc.) served grilled, boiled, boiled and pounded. They can be dished up with vegetable soups or soups made with oleaginous products as peanuts, sesame, palm nuts and/or vegetables as tomato, eggplant, okra, etc. Based on financial possibilities the dish can be completed with fresh, smoked, or dried meat, poultry or fish.

Historically, southern populations were financially more astute than northern populations due to the commercial activities generated around Lomé, the Togolese capital city situated in the south. In fact the city is bordered to the south by the Atlantic Ocean through which European crusaders and slave traders entered the land and settled commercial counters. For the south, the seaport is an active business platform through which both African and non-African goods infiltrate the country. Thus the price of imported foodstuffs were more affordable to those in the south. Many among the southern populations were active in commercial activities. As far as imported goods were concerned, northern populations always had to pay the extra transportation cost from the south in addition to the margin gained by wholesalers and retailers. Southerners through their direct exposition to Europeans traders and direct access to Europeans goods rapidly integrated and developed large scale trades as well as a change in their mores. The importance taken by the coast with Atlantic relations since at least the 15th century says Gayibor (2011) has not declined. It has made coastal populations of predators of the hinterland but also agents of dissemination of European products and those of their own environment in this case the salt much in demand by the populations from the center to further north (ibid.)

While those in the south ran large scale trades, populations in the north stuck to their small community trade of goods. Part of the personal field productions were consumed by the producer and his family and the rest was taken by women to a small exchange place to be traded with other households' productions. Only men were professional traders selling community productions out of the community but still in a restraint perimeter of their communities.

Southern populations routed goods not only to the northern Togolese regions but also to other Saharan countries. So Rice's accessibility to southerners before the rest of the country has made it easier for the grain to enter and settle in southern household habits. As the corn replaced the African cereals cited earlier, rice/ rice porridge has slowly been replacing corn in southern cultures but only partly and slower than corn. The cultivation of rice has been less successful than that of corn on Togolese Territories. Still today, it has not quite been able yet to replace corn in the magnitude that corn has with the old African cereals. Rice has entered Togolese household and has

found a valuable place in the society but remains an imported good which definitely remains infrequent in disfavored households due to its price.

Imported food: is the term used for non-local products food and manufactured foodstuffs. Besides its brewery company (beers, soft drinks), the wheat (largely imported from the United States) grinding company (Société des Grands Moulins) of the French Group SOMDIAA, Nioto (oil production including shea butter destined to the French and American market) of French group GEOCOTON and Fan milk Togo (frozen dairy and juice made of imported processed fruit and dairy products in the form of powder) owned in majority by the Danish Fan Milk Group, Togo barely produces any other factory-made foodstuffs.

Here imported food refers mostly to wheat based products, rice, varieties of pasta, canned tomato paste/sauce, sugar, oil, frozen poultry, sausage, flavor enhancers etc.

Rice (imported in large quantities from China) and rice porridge is mostly consumed by those who can afford it. Even though it is more accessible financially to southerners than northerners it still has not quite well supplanted corn's which is produced and even exported today. Rice is perceived among populations as superior to corn in taste and the food of the rich. Its infrequency and imports from outside Africa tends to make it more valued than corn. So even in the south rice remains occasional for poor households. It is much more expensive than local cereals and quantities required to make a rice porridge (as cornmeal porridge) is dissuasive for the financially limited individual who would rather eat it boiled once in a while. In fact rice thick porridge is highly appreciated.

Pasta and other wheat based products as couscous are cooked and served in a conventional way with tomato sauce and (when affordable) based on available budget fried or boiled meat, fish, eggs, poultry and soy cheese (soy being a substitute of the traditional cow milk which has become too expensive).

Oil is widely used in the Togolese dishes. It is used in the making of soups and also used to fry tubers, plantains, doughnuts (baked ones are expensive and accessible in pastries only attended by the rich), meat, etc. Cereal/tuber thick porridge, rice, couscous, or pasta are always served with a soup and the more the soup shines, the better it is valued. So the more one earns or possesses in terms of wealth, the more oil is used. Participants say oil gives good looks and taste to food. Some women consider taste the primary tool to seduce men, safeguard their marriage, or ensure a preference for their meal especially in polygamous households or when they forebode a mistress in their husband's life. As matter of fact, the satisfaction of the male is priority. His preferences guide the household's choice of groceries, cooking methods and eating habits.

Wheat flour is used to make different types of breads and donuts considered today traditional even though wheat is not typical of the region. Wheat is imported from France and Canada and transformed by the SGMT, a flour milling company (owned by the French SOMDIAA group, major player in the agro-food industry in Africa) located in the harbor zone in the capital city. The SGMT produces and distributes milled flours that must meet local needs of bakers for (bread/cake productions) and doughnut makers/vendors who have specific requirements in terms of density or oil and water absorption (Somdiaa, 2018; ManationTogo, 2015).

Both imported and local foodstuffs are cooked in both rural and urban areas with a greater share for the local production of food in rural and northern regions. Globally, the south has a higher share of imported foodstuff dishes. Southern regions are privileged with a good climate and seasonality (4 alternating dry and rainy seasons), the sea commercial port, and the capital city which benefits tremendously of its geographic location (between the Ghanaian capital city to the west and the Beninese capital city to the east. Edged by the Atlantic Ocean, Togo and its bordering countries Ghana (west) and Benin (east) have their capital cities developed along the harbors. Commercially speaking, Lomé the Togolese capital is therefore well surrounded on both sides and south. The Atlantic harbors were settled and already used by the Portuguese slave traders prior to the colonial powers. The proximity to the sea has therefore always been a boon for southern populations who

participated in the collection of populations in the center and countryside for European slave traders. The sea continues to be beneficial to Togo provided that despite the later introduction of the airport, goods coming through seaways remain less costly in terms of transports compared to those entering the countries through airways.

Southerners/ Northerners: These terms generally designate populations that historically, politically, and collectively are perceived as corresponding primary to specific terroirs and mores. Thus 'Southerners' for those whose lands of origin (lands on which traditions and generational mores are rooted) are located in southern regions of the country. Northerners analogically would be those whose lands of origin is located in northern regions of the country. However as the south comprises the capital city to which populations from all over the country are drawn to for various reasons (professional commercial, administrative, medical, scholastic, etc.), the term southerners may sometimes refer to current residents of the south which may englobe all ethnic groups. To avoid confusion we may also use the terminology 'city dwellers'.

Low paying occupations: generally entail state employments (nurses, secretaries, teachers, low class military/petty officers, police petty officers, etc.), itinerant employments as (cab drivers/ motorbike-cab drivers, traveling merchants, etc.), low financial investments entrepreneurships, low turnover startups (tailors, beauticians, wholesalers, retailers, etc.), and apprentices. We will often refer to these groups as low-middle class for those that tidily live on the revenue but not in a condition of wretchedness. The low class can apply to people in wretchedness, living mainly on subsistence agriculture or supported by family members.

Middle to high paying occupations In Togo, taking the example of the healthcare sector, being a medical doctor is not necessarily a synonym for being very wealthy. Thus the notion must be contextually clarified. Many medical doctors have been trained through the military and work as state employers. Their pay is greatly lower than those in the private sector. Many young graduate medical doctor whose school fees were not financed by the military leave the country in the search of better paid job when they have not been in capacity of settling their own clinics. Some may work in the public sector or in private clinic until they have gathered funds to either open a private clinic or move abroad when such clinic's profitability is doomed to fail/ threatened by the living standards or the monopoly of older clinics over the niche that can afford clinic fees. The low living standards of a great part of the population result in the fact that many go to public services or traditional caretakers and the wealthy and rich either send family member abroad (i.e. Europe) for treatments or consult private clinics. Private clinics in fact are expensive in order to remain profitable given the smaller clientele that can afford treatment prices. So a young doctor working in the public sector and financially in charge of family as well as extended families in rural zone for example cannot fall in what we refer to as high class but middle or high-middle class in terms depending on financial stability/comfort. This applies to law officials, professors, pharmacists, architects, engineers, accountants and so forth. Among high class or wealthy citizens, aside heritage, there can be high level bankers, large private business owners as retailers, highly ranked state workers (judges, associates and directors of state industries, state and customs officials, etc.). Locally perceived injustice and inequalities make even the new rich desert the country. The economic progress is a reality, however inequalities of chances and opportunities make newly wealthy people leave and invest their capital (intellectual and material) elsewhere. The economic upswing has in fact augmented the number of rich people but in the meantime the rising number of people under the poverty line is also a reality with the increasing population and living standards disparities are digging deeper and deeper. In other words, neither foreign aids nor economic progress sustainable if the people are not there to make and maintain it due to underlying social inequalities (gender, generational, tribal, etc.).

Cities/towns or urban centers in Togo, among other things including the name of the country, are concepts that have for long (and still in part) kept their colonial notions. For instance, Togodo, name of the village where Germans signed their protectorate with king Mlapa III, meant “land beyond the river”. The protectorate (for the 90,479 Km² land unit laying between the British Gold Coast colony to the west and French Dahomey to the east claimed by the Germans and recognized by the other colonial powers in the 1884 Berlin conference) formally made the land unit become a German overseas territory. Togodo was an inspiration for Germans who called it Togoland. After World War I the 2/3 of the land east side was entitled to France (French Togoland) which made it an extension of its colony of Dahomey (now Benin) whereas the remaining left side became an extension of the British Colony of Gold coast (Ghana). In 1946 when both Togoland became UN trust territories, the British Togoland was administratively integrated to the ancient Gold coast Colony (Ghana) whereas the French Togoland remained administratively separate of the ancient Dahomey Colony. French Togoland after its independence in 1960 became a Republic whose name kept the root “Togo” to which locals around cannot concretely identify with. Locals all over the land from the coastal borders up north lived community lives that hardly went beyond exchanges with the neighboring villages or tribes.

Similarly, Germans (as many other colonial powers did) are at the origin of administrative centers around which urbanization took off in Togo. To concretize the ownership of the lands they were entitled to in the distribution of overseas territories among European nations, Germans sectioned Togoland (as the colonial powers also did with their colonized lands), in five administrative territories within which an administrative center is settled. Such proceedings ensured their full ownership/rights and control over the land as per the Berlin conference prerequisites.

The competition and rush for power between colonial nations has in fact forced the rush for each nation to establish and confirm their legacy over African territories they were granted in the share of the continent. Administrative centers in strategic areas were a sign of control of the surrounding lands. The French were already progressing in the lands east of Togo (today Benin) whereas the British were concretizing their ownership by developing their administrative poles west of Togo (today Ghana). According to Nyassogbo (1984: 135-18): “Territorial control and that of the population have been, at all times and everywhere, the priority of all administrations. Thus, the necessity of the territorial grid by the German colonial administration was at the origin of most of the current urban centers of Togo. The country was first divided into 5 "Bezirksamtern" (administrative circles), with "Unterbezirken" (Administrative subdivisions) and 3 "Stationsbezirke" (Post Circles). At the head of each territorial unit was placed an administrative center, the beginning of modern urbanization... Before the arrival of the French, following the defeat of Germany after the First World War, the major urban centers Togo were already born. As such, the urban phenomenon finds its origin in colonial penetration, hence its recent character and unfinished.” As neither the planting of a flag nor the signature of a protectorate per the Berlin conference in 1884 was sufficient to demonstrate an effective control of the land, it was urgent not only to occupy administratively but to also materialize the German occupation. So, following the sectioning of the land into five administrative regions and the creations of certain infrastructures (churches, hospitals, school, etc.) communication infrastructures were launched to connect regions and have control over local occurrences and resources.

Along with paved roads, Railway lines were constructed for the transport of northern resources to the southern harbors. From there resources were exported abroad. There were three lines: the "coconut line" (44 km long) which connects the capital to Aného along the Atlantic coastline, in 1905; the "cocoa line" (119km) begun in 1904 and completed in 1907 (also used to collect coffee) reaches Kpalimé, north-west of Lomé; - the last «cotton line" or "center" connecting Lomé to the center (Agbonou 2 km from Atakpamé) was activated in 1911. Its construction was paused due to

the rugged lands but later extended only 114km to the small town of Blitta the terminus since 1933. It could have been extended further to the last town north (367 km away) but financial constraints impeded the resumption. The poor maintenance of the railway has degraded its quality limiting it to the transport of merchandises from 1970. The lines are now closed since 1999 except for few small sections dedicated to the transports of some goods. The roads constructed along the railways and poor management may also have contributed in the unproductiveness of the rail network.

Within each administrative circle, the locality where an administrative pole was settled, equipped with schools, dispensaries, shops, churches, etc., then designated as a city or town without taking into consideration neither the population size nor the level of non-agricultural activities (relative to social, ideological, political, historical background) which are notions taken into account by certain urbanists in defining a town/city. So until the 1961 demographic survey, where the national statistical service (which so far only considered administrative presence as sole criterion in the definition of an urban center), mentioned the numerical threshold of 4,000 inhabitants and more agglomerates, later applied during the general census of the population in 1970, were considered as urban localities "erected in municipalities", as well as the capitals of circles, subdivisions and "localities named by order of the Commissioner of the Republic" (Nyassogbo, *ibid.*). So after the 1970 survey, taking into account the 4000 inhabitants threshold, seven Urban Communes were identified: Lomé, Aného, Tsévié, Kpalimé, Atakpamé, Sokodé and Bassar”

Other towns have since erupted in the north. Kara in the north for instance is now the second biggest town after Lomé in terms of inhabitants’ even though it is surrounded by drastic rurality with prominent agricultural activities over economic and industrial activities. So in 1970 localities like Amlamé and Kpagouda, with a population of less than 3,000 were among the urban agglomerations of the country whereas some who reach or even exceed 8000 residents were legally not, because neither did they shelter the headquarters of the administration local public administration. And as said the demographic threshold or the percentage of non-agricultural activities schools were not taken into account (*Ibid.*). Thus the local perception of the “urban” mainly attributed to Lomé at first then to a couple of other places as Kara or Sokodé is understandable considering the rural character of localities which in spite of having reached the demographic threshold of 4000 inhabitants with or without an administrative center are not considered cities/towns given their prominence in subsistence agriculture and weak commercial activities. A census in 2015 counted for Lomé 1 788 600 inhabitants, Kara 104400 and Sokodé 101900 (UN demographic year book, 2016). Other towns follow the list but need not here to be further emphasized. The country’s fertility was 7.2% in the 1970s, 6% in the 1990s, 4.7% between 2010 and 2015 and projected to be 3.8% in 2025 (UNDESA, 2015). In terms of infrastructures and economic development Lomé is by far the leading city which beyond the administrative, demographic notions has the most attractive industrial and economic legacy.

According to the Lomé city hall “From 3,000 inhabitants in 1900, the population of Lomé rose to 85,000 in 1958, 185,000 in 1970, 375,000 in 1981, 500,000 in 1985, 700,000 to 750,000 in 1990. It was estimated at about 1,000,000 inhabitants in 2000 with a density of 8111 inhabitants per km² against 82 for the whole country...This growth is due to the natural increase of the urban population and the massive rural exodus. Indeed, thanks to its infrastructure (port, airport, private and collective facilities, etc.) and its economic importance, Lomé is the most important center of economic attraction where various social strata converge in the quest for better be. It concentrates more than 75% of Togo's industries. Lomé hosts most of Togo's economic activities with a very strong predominance of the informal sector in the modern sector. The commercial activity is particularly held by women who monopolize the sale of high quality printed fabrics.” (Ville-lome.tg, 2018)

Annex b- Data collection tools

Selected profile details for individuals:										
Age*	Sex	Occupation	Family status	Household size	Cultural group	Academic level	Area of living	Type of Accommodation	Work Area	Social class
• Or age range (10-17, 18-39, 40-64, 64+)										

Key informants (healthcare and food industry stakeholders)										
Themes	Function	Public setor				Private sector				
General		Polymakers	Academics	healthcare	Managers	Formal	informal/ informal			
	Ministry of health representative (minister or policy advisor)	1								
	Ministry of agriculture representative (minister or policy advisor)	1								
	Professor in applied health				1					
	University Medical centre Manager		1		1					
	Medical students		10							
	Pharmacists							2		
	Health insurers							2		
	healthcare providers			Medical doctor Medical interns	1 2					
	Convenience store/ open market vendors									5
Context / local specific										
	Spiritual/traditional healthcare providers/ practionners									2
	Medicine street vendors									1
	Ready - to eat food street vendors									3

Key informants classified by groups of individuals with similar position in the socio-economic system

living standards	<u>Location</u>			<u>Function</u>	<u>Family context</u>	<u>Primary food consumed /choices</u>	<u>primary healthcare provider</u>	<u>nutrition awareness/ knowledge?</u>
	<u>North</u>	<u>South</u>	<u>Center</u>					
Group #1 upper								
Group #2 middle								
Group #3 lower								

informants name	Questions - Week 1 - date																			
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7	#8	#9	#10	#11	#12	#13	#14	#15	#16	#17	#18	#19	#20
INDIVIDUALS																				
HEALTHCARE INDUSTRY																				
FOOD INDUSTRY																				
INFORMAL SECTOR																				

Variables		Who (participants)			
Methodology and methods		Consumers	Health professionals	Food industry staholders	Enforcement officers
What	Issues/ concerns				
	Challenges				
	Opportunities				
When (timeframe)					
Where (location info)					
How (will data be collected - which format?) recored- observed- survey, intreview?					
Sample size					
Notes/ remarks:					